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YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

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XXXIX

CONCESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
IN
OLD ENGLISH PROSE

BY

JOSEPHINE MAY BURNHAM

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale
University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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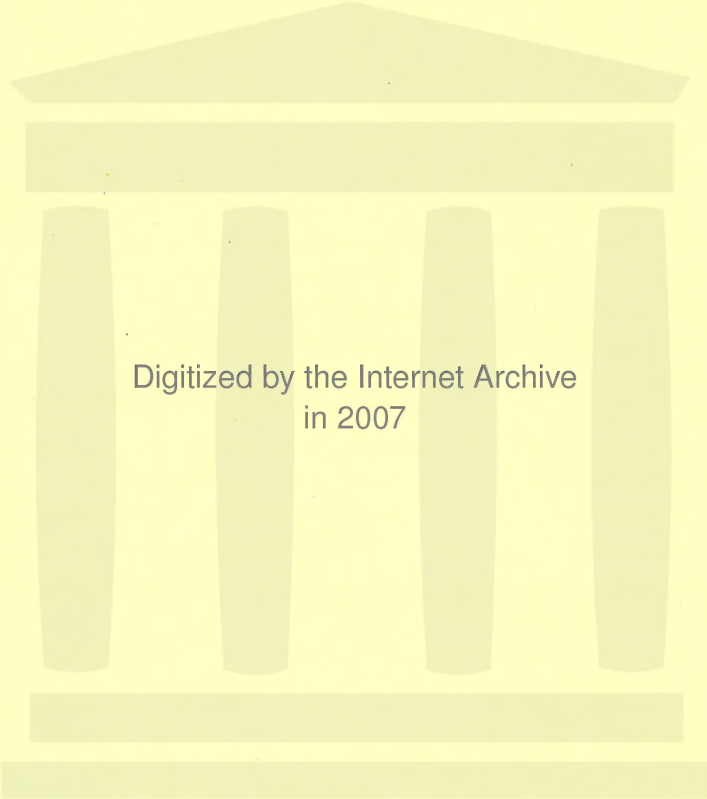
PREFACE

This study was carried on under the direction of Professor Albert S. Cook, to whom in a special degree are due thanks for encouragement and for training in method. To Professor E. P. Morris I am indebted for helpful suggestions. I desire also to acknowledge courtesies extended to me, during the preparation of the thesis, by the Libraries of Yale and Harvard Universities, and to express my thanks to Miss Anna M. Monrad, of the Yale University Library, for assistance in proof-reading.

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J. M. B.

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ERRATA

Page	17	line	2	read	sveþauh
"	27	"	24	"	is rendered by a clause appositive
"	29	"	26	"	þeah hit
"	29	"	28	"	cildgeongum, þeah-
"	52	"	24	"	sýle bið
"	52	"	25	"	ðæm godū
"	52	"	26	"	bið sýle
"	53	"	25	"	agenū yrre
"	82	"	1	"	þeah
"	97	"	3	"	translation)
"	97	"	22	"	næron on hie
"	115	"	20	"	lees for-thy
"	116	"	19	"	to þam here
"	119	"	21	"	þencende
"	126	"	1	"	hwæðer

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

It is the purpose of this thesis to set forth the resources possessed by Old English for the expression of concessive relations, grouping the material in such a way as to show what are the main types of idiom employed, and their history so far as it can be traced. The search for origins, it is true, must in the case of many Old English idioms be disappointing, for however the language may have gained in firmness and compactness under the influence of Latin, the earliest prose we have shows most of the essential constructions of the language already present. What conclusions may be drawn have to do rather with the native character of a large number of concessive constructions, the influence of Latin upon others, and the antiquity of many locutions still in daily use. It is my hope also that part of the material included may illustrate some of the psychological processes involved in speech. My aim has not been, however, to enter the field of the psychologist, but to give an account as accurate as possible of facts which may prove to have psychological significance.

The concessive relation is usually understood as a specialized form of the conditional relation, or at least as most nearly akin to it. In each form of sentence the main proposition is thought of as *conditioned* by the subordinate. Typically, the conditional sentence contains a hypothesis and a conclusion contingent upon the truth of that hypothesis; the concessive sentence contains a hypothesis, or a fact, and a

conclusion *independent* thereof. The concessive sentence may be represented by the formula, linguistically though not mathematically true, $a-b=a$, in which b has a positive value. It is evident that this relation, like the conditional, has affinities with that of cause. The concession—the notion subtracted, as it were, from the main proposition—may often be looked upon as a blocked or inoperative cause or reason. The view, the reason, the circumstance is admitted, but the opposite of its natural consequence is asserted.

The close relation between the concessive and the conditional idea is shown by the frequency with which conditional particles are adapted to concessive use. The Greek $\epsilon\lambda\ \kappa\alpha\iota$ and $\epsilon\delta\alpha\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota$, the Latin *etsi*, *etiamsi*, the Gothic *pauihjabai*, and the German *obwohl*, *obschon* are familiar examples. In Modern English, *if* and *even if* are largely in use as concessive conjunctions. The likeness of causal and concessive ideas is especially seen in negative sentences. When a negative assertion or command is expressed, with a reason tending to an opposite conclusion, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the minor clause is causal or concessive.

Old English, like other languages, reflects in its idioms the close relationship between the notions of concession, condition, and cause. Conditional particles, it is true, are less frequently employed to denote concession than in modern English. The kinship of the two ideas is shown rather by mixture of constructions. We find the concessive clause, for instance, slipping into what is logically a condition¹: ÆH. 1. 394. 6 *peah hwa forlæte micle æhta, and ne forlæt*

¹ For explanation of abbreviated titles see the list of texts at the end of this chapter.

ða gitsunge, ne forlæt he ealle ðing. Similarly the conditional clause may slip into the concessive, as in the 'inadvertent concessive conditions' to be cited in Chapter VI. The similarity of causal and concessive constructions is more marked in Old English. Exceptionally we find concessive clauses approaching causal meaning, as in this passage: *ÆH.* 2. 216. 24 *Gif hwam seo lar oflicige, ne yrsige he nateshwon wið us, ðeah ðe we Godes bebodu mannum geopenian.* More frequently we find mingling of the constructions. The two may be used side by side with only a slight change of emphasis: *Bo.* 69. 6 ff. *Hwæðer þu beo a þy fægerra for oðres mannes fægere?* [cause] *Bið men ful lytle þy bet þeah he godne fæder hæbbe* [concession], *gif he self to nauhte ne mæg.* The same slight shift in emphasis may lead to an even closer combination, as in the following: *CP.* 261. 22 ff. *Hwa sceal ðonne, ðara ðe hal & good andgiet hæbbe, Gode unðoncfull beon, forðæm, ðeah he hine for his synnum suinge . . . ?* (Latin original: *Aut quis sana intelligentia de percussione sua ingratus existat . . . ?*); *ÆH.* 1. 252. 14 f. *Getimige us tela on lichaman, getimige us untela, symle we sceolon þæs Gode ðancian.* It may be added that comparative adjective and adverbial phrases, such as those in the passage *Bo.* 69. 6 just quoted, are in frequent use in Old English as correlatives of causal, conditional, and concessive clauses.

Analyzing the concessive relation more closely, we find that the three categories of assumed fact, hypothesis of possibility, and hypothesis contrary to fact, commonly applied to conditions, may be applied to concessions. The broader division between fact and hypothesis is, however, much more readily grasped and more fundamental.

Another point of view from which concessive sentences may be studied is that of the types of expression found among them. The relation formulated as $a-b=a$ may, of course, be expressed by a phrase as well as by a clause; there are, indeed, as in the case of Modern English *for all*, instances of one connective serving for either phrase or clause. A more fruitful division is that according to the speaker's approach to the sentence. All concessions, thus classified, fall into three groups: the simple, the disjunctive, and the indefinite. The simple concession contains a fact or notion *in spite of* which the main proposition stands. The disjunctive or alternative concession introduces mutually exclusive possibilities, in spite of *either of which* the proposition is maintained. But this is often only a more emphatic substitute for the former method. 'Whether I come or not'—though it may be logically analyzed into 'if I come, or though I do not come'—is often simply equivalent to 'though I do not come.' The indefinite concession generalizes the situation: the main proposition is asserted *in spite of any* possibility—*no matter what* the case may be.

Finally, the concessive *form* is often employed where the relation between parts of the sentence is less strict than in the typical case, as in the statement, 'He is an ingenious lad, though his brother is more ingenious.' There is no real conflict of ideas here; the second clause enters as an afterthought, which has not sufficient importance to be given a new sentence.

In the following chapters I shall attempt to show in what forms all these types of concessive sentence are to be found in Old English. Where reference to Modern English or to other languages may throw

light upon Old English idiom, I shall endeavor to include what is of value.

In the more important translated works, I have found almost constant reference to the original essential to the evaluation of the material. In the case of so variable and sometimes elusive a relation as that of concession, such reference is indispensable if any valid comparisons are to be made. This comparative study enables one to distinguish two streams of influence: the tendencies of the native idiom, and the modes of expression copied from Latin, or given special importance by their use in translation. Citations from Latin, it is true, have always to be interpreted with care. There is always the chance that the Latin manuscript before the translator was different in some small but significant detail from the text we possess.¹ Much Old English translation, moreover, is to be described as free paraphrase. Even with these reservations, nevertheless, Latin originals must frequently be taken into account.

It has not seemed feasible to put a large part of the material into statistical form. On the one hand, constructions which occur very rarely, such as the concessive use of the preposition *butan*, must be treated exhaustively in the body of the thesis. On the other hand, certain constructions which occur in great number, such as the concessive period with *ac* or *and ðeah* as connective, shade off so variously into mere antithesis or some kindred notion, and offer so much room for arbitrary and personal judgment, that enumeration would be futile. I have indicated in treating separate constructions, however, whether they

¹ See, for example, Bright's Introduction to John, pp. xxvi ff., for a brief statement as to the text used by the translators of the Gospels.

are rarely or frequently to be found. Constructions for which statistics seemed of value have been indexed.

LIST OF OLD ENGLISH PROSE TEXTS EXAMINED.

It is essential to the purpose of this study that all important Old English prose texts available be taken into account. For the sake of clearness I have therefore included in my list of texts those which proved to contain no concessive constructions.

In citing from editions which present parallel manuscripts of the same work, I have in each case quoted from the preferred manuscript. If reference to another has become necessary, I have named the manuscript cited. It has seemed expedient also, while copying the texts faithfully in other particulars, to repunctuate many passages, in order to indicate the interpretation given them. Citations are by page and line, following the system of line-numbering found in the edition used, if there be any. Biblical passages, however, are of course cited by chapter and verse, and the Apothegms by number. References are to the line in which the word or construction under consideration appears.

In the list of texts, *Bibliothek* stands for Grein's *Bibliothek der AS. Prosa*.

Adm. . . = Basil's Admonitio. See Hex. below.

Æ. Asm. = Ælfric's Writings in AS. Homilien und Heiligenleben, ed. Assmann. Kassel, 1889. (*Bibliothek* 3.)

ÆH. . . = Homilies of Ælfriece, ed. Thorpe. 2 vols. London, 1844—46.

Æ. Th. . = Ælfric's Writings contained in Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. Thorpe. London, 1840. Folio.

- Apoth. . . = Apothegms in Kemble's *Salomon and Saturn*.
See *Sat.* below.
- Ap. T. . . = Die AE. Bearbeitung der Erzählung von Apollonius von Tyrus, ed. Zupitza. *Archiv* 97. 17–34.
The Latin original in: Märkisch, *Die AE. Bearbeitung der Erzählung von Apollonius von Tyrus*. *Grammatik und Lateinischer Text*. Berlin, 1889. (*Palaestra* 6.)
- BH. . . . = The OE. Version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*,
ed. Miller. 2 vols. London, 1890–98. (EETS. 95, 96, etc.) Text in Vol. 1.
The Latin original in: *Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, etc., ed. Plummer. 2 vols. Oxford, 1896.
- Bl. H. . . = The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century,
ed. Morris. London, 1880. (EETS. 58, 63, 73.)
- Bo. = King Alfred's Version of Boethius *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. Sedgefield. Oxford, 1899.
The Latin original in: *Boetius De Cons. Philos.*, ed. Peiper. Leipzig, 1871.
- BO. . . . = Das Benediktiner-Offizium, ein AE. Brevier, ed. Feiler. Heidelberg, 1901. (*Anglistische Forschungen* 4.)
Includes the Latin original.
- BR. . . . = Die AS. Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel, ed. Schröer. Kassel, 1885. (*Bibliothek* 2.)
For versions of the Latin text, see *IG.* and *WV.* below.
- Byr. . . . = AS. Excerpte aus Byrhtferth's *Handboc oder Enchiridion*, ed. Kluge. *Anglia* 8. 298–337.
- Cart. . . = *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. Birch. 3 vols. London, 1885–93.
- Chad . . = Ein AE. Leben des Heiligen Chad, ed. Napier. *Anglia* 10. 131–156.
- Chron. . . = Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, ed. Earle and Plummer. 2 vols. Oxford, 1892–99. Text in Vol. 1.
- Cod. Dip. = *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, ed. Kemble. 6 vols. London, 1839–48.

- Coll. . . . = Colloquium Ælfrici, ed. Wülcker. London, 1884.
(Wright's Vocabularies, 2d ed., 1. 88–103.)
- Craw. . . = Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library, ed. Napier and Stevenson. Oxford, 1895. (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Med. and Mod. Ser. 7.)
- CP. . . . = King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. Sweet. London, 1871. (EETS. 45, 50.)
The Latin origin in: Migne, Patrologia Latina 77.
- De Abus. = De Octo Uitiis et de Duodecim Abusiuis Gradus, ed. Morris. London, 1868. (OE. Homilies, First Series, pp. 296–304.)
- De Temp. = Ælfric's Translation of Bede De Temporibus, ed. Wright. London, 1841. (Popular Treatises on Science, pp. 1–19.)
- Deut. . . . = Ælfric's Translation of Deuteronomy, ed. Grein. Kassel and Göttingen, 1872. (Bibliothek 1.)
- De Vet. . = Ælfric's Prefaces to his Biblical Translations.
Pref. (Bibliothek 1.)
- Dial. . . . = Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen, ed. Hecht. Leipzig, 1900. (Bibliothek 5.)
The Latin original in: Migne, Patrologia Latina 66 and 77.
- Dip. Ang. = Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici, ed. Thorpe. London, 1865.
- Eluc. . . . = A Fragment of an OE. Elucidarium, ed. Förster. Oxford, 1901. (An English Miscellany, pp. 90–92.)
- Epis. . . . = Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem, ed. Baskervill. Anglia 4. 139–167.
- Exod. . . . = Ælfric's Translation of Exodus. (Bibliothek 1.)
- Gen. . . . = Ælfric's Translation of Genesis. (Bibliothek 1.)
- Gen. b. . = Cambridge Fragment of Genesis, in Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers, Second Series (pp. 305–317), ed. Cook. New York and London, 1903.

- Gram. . . = Ælfric's Grammatik, ed. Zupitza. Berlin, 1880.
(Sammlung Englischer Denkmäler 1.)
- Guth. . . . = Das AS. Prosa-Leben des Hl. Guthlac, ed. Gonser.
Heidelberg, 1909. (Anglistische Forschungen 27.)
The Latin original is included.
- Herb. . . . = Herbarium (Leechdoms 1.) See Lchd. below.
- Hex. . . . = The AS. Version of the Hexameron of St. Basil,
and the AS. Remains of St. Basil's Admonitio
ad Filium Spiritualem, ed. Norman. London, 1849.
- HL. . . . = The Non-Ælfrician Writings in Assmann's AS.
Homilien und Heiligenleben. See Æ. Asm. above.
- IG. . . . = The Rule of S. Benet, Latin and AS. Inter-
linear Version, ed. Logeman. London, 1888.
(EETS. 90.)
- Inst. . . . = The Non-Ælfrician Writings in Thorpe's Ancient
Laws and Institutes of England. See Æ. Th.
above.
- Int. Sig. . = Ælfric's Version of Alcuini Interrogationes
Sigeuulfi in Genesin, ed. Mac Lean. Anglia 6.
425-473; 7. 1-59. Text in Vol. 7.
- Job. . . . = Ælfric's Translation of Job. (Bibliothek 1.)
- John . . . = The Gospel of St. John in West-Saxon, ed.
Bright. Boston and London, 1904.
- Jos. = Ælfric's Translation of Joshua. (Bibliothek 1.)
- Jud. . . . = Ælfric's Translation of Judges. (Bibliothek 1.)
- L. = The Gospel of St. Luke in West-Saxon, ed.
Bright. Boston and London, 1906.
- Lacn. . . . = Lacnunga, ed. Leonhardi. Hamburg, 1905.
(Bibliothek 6.)
- LaecB. . . = Laeceboc, ed. Leonhardi. Hamburg, 1905.
(Bibliothek 6.)
- Laws . . . = Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, ed. Liebermann.
2 vols. Halle, 1903-06. Text in Vol. 1.
- LbV. . . . = Liber Vitae; Register and Martyrology of New
Minster and Hyde Abbey, ed. Birch. London
and Winchester, 1892.
- Lchd. . . . = Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early
England, ed. Cockayne. 3 vols. London, 1864-66.

- Leof. . . . = *Uisio Leofrici*, ed. Napier. Philological Society's Transactions, 1908, pp. 180–188.
- Lev. . . . = *Ælfric's Translation of Leviticus*. (Bibliothek 1.)
- LS. = *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat. 2 vols. London, 1881–1900. (EETS. 76, 82, 94, 114.)
- M. = *The Gospel of Saint Matthew in West-Saxon*, ed. Bright. Boston and London, 1904.
- Mart. . . . = *An OE. Martyrology*, ed. Herzfeld. London, 1900. (EETS. 116.)
- Mk. = *The Gospel of St. Mark in West-Saxon*, ed. Bright. Boston and London, 1905.
- Neot = *Ein AS. Leben des Neot*, ed. Wülcker. Anglia 3. 102–114.
- Nic. = *The OE. Version of the Gospel of Nicodemus*, ed. Hulme. Publications of the Modern Language Association 13. 457–542.
- Num. . . . = *Ælfric's Translation of Numbers*. (Bibliothek 1.)
- O. = *King Ælfred's Orosius*, OE. Text and Latin Original, ed. Sweet. London, 1883. (EETS. 79.)
- OET. . . . = *The Oldest English Texts*, ed. Sweet. London, 1885. (EETS. 83.)
- PPs. = *The West-Saxon Psalms, being the Prose Portion . . . of the . . . Paris Psalter*, ed. Bright and Ramsay. Boston and London, 1907.
- Quot. . . . = *Supplement to Ælfric's Homilies in Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers, Second Series* (pp. 135–179), ed. Cook. New York and London, 1903.
- Rood = *Legends of the Holy Rood*, ed. Morris. London, 1871. (EETS. 46.)
- RT. = *History of the Holy Rood-Tree*, ed. Napier. London, 1894. (EETS. 103.)
- Sat. = *Prose Dialogues in The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus*, ed. Kemble. London, 1848.
- S. Mar. . . = *Der Spätangelsächsische Sermo in Festis Sanctae Mariae Virginis*, ed. Vance. Darmstadt, 1894.
- Sol. = *King Alfred's OE. Version of St. Augustine's*

Soliloquies, ed. Hargrove. New York, 1902.
(Yale Studies in English 13.)

Includes the Latin original.

Sun. . . . = An OE. Homily on the Observance of Sunday,
ed. Napier. Oxford, 1901. (An English Mis-
cellany, pp. 357-362.)

Wulf. . . = Wulfstan's Homilies, ed. Napier. Berlin, 1883.
(Sammlung Englischer Denkmäler 4.)

WV. . . = Die Winteney-Version der Regula S. Benedicti,
Lateinisch und Englisch, ed. Schröer. Halle,
1888.

Reference is also made to the following texts:

A. Old English Poetry.

Beowulf, ed. Wyatt. Cambridge, 1901.

Andreas, ed. Krapp. Boston, etc., 1906.

Genesis, ed. Grein, Wülcker (Bibliothek der AS. Poesie.
Kassel, 1883-98.)

B. Middle and Modern English.

AV. = The Authorized Version of the English Bible.

F.C.P.V. = Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse, ed.
Pollard. New York, n. d. (English Garner.)

Hal. Meid. = Hali Meidenhad, an Alliterative Homily
of the Thirteenth Century, ed. Cockayne. London,
1866. (EETS. 18.)

RV. = The Revised Version of the English Bible.

C. Gothic.

Die Gotische Bibel des Vulfila, etc., ed. Bernhardt.
Halle a. S., 1884.

Ulfilas, ed. Stamm, Heyne. 8th ed. Paderborn and
Münster, 1885.

D. Old High German.

Ev. = Otfrids Evangelienbuch, ed. Erdmann. Halle
a. S., 1882.

Citations from Shakespeare are from the Globe edition;
those from Chaucer from The Student's Chaucer.

CHAPTER II.

THE SIMPLE CONCESSIVE CLAUSE INTRODUCED BY A CONJUNCTION.

The simple concessive clause introduced by a single subordinating conjunction, being much the most common of all concessive constructions in Old English, and being besides the most easily subjected to logical analysis, is naturally the first form of clause to be considered. In this chapter I shall discuss the clause first separately, then as a part of the sentence; and I shall add some comments upon idiomatic uses of the *ðeah*-clause.

THE CONCESSIVE CLAUSE SEPARATELY CONSIDERED.

A. *The Connectives of the Clause.*

1. *ðeah*.

The usual concessive conjunction is *ðeah*, which appears also in the forms *peah*, *þeh*, *ðæh*, *þæh*, and *þæah*. It is often accompanied by the particle *ðe* (*þe*), so that we find many clauses introduced by *ðeah ðe*, *peah ðe*. With *ðeah* we may compare both Gothic *pau*, 'than,' 'or' (in disjunctive questions), 'in that case,' 'yet,' and *pauh* (in *pauhjabai*, 'although'). Other cognates are: Old High German *doh*, 'although,' 'nevertheless'; Old Saxon *thoh*, 'although,' 'nevertheless'; Old Norse *þó*, 'nevertheless.'

It must be noted in passing that *ðeah* has other uses besides that of concessive conjunction, for this fact sometimes involves difficulty in classifying a given

sentence. *ðeah* is frequently employed as an adverbative—‘yet,’ ‘still,’ ‘however’—as are some of its cognates. It may be weakened to a mere conditional particle; it may even, in certain collocations, have an interrogative force; it may become nearly equivalent to Modern English *even*.

The facts that *ðeah* is adverb as well as conjunction—a usage which remains in Modern English *though*—and that in the concessive clause it is frequently accompanied by *ðe*, just as are *forðam*, *ær ðam* and other conjunctive compounds, might lead to the hope of tracing a historical development from the adverbial *ðeah* through *ðeah ðe* and *ðeah* with *ðe* omitted, to the independent conjunction *ðeah*. The evidence, however, is not altogether conclusive. In one early text, it is true—the Vespasian Psalter—*ðæhðe* (already written, in three cases out of the total of four, as one word) is the gloss for *etsi*, *quanquam*, and concessive *si*. On the other hand, in early portions of the Laws (if we may assume that they were faithfully copied) we find *ðeah* as a full conjunction: Laws 92. 7 *þeah* hit sie on middum felda gefohten; 94. 9 Gif hwa his agenne geleod bebycgge . . . *ðeah* he scyldig sie, ofer sæ. The Prose Psalms have *ðeah* throughout. In Orosius the two forms are used impartially: O. 196. 7 *þeh þa* senatus him hæfden þa dæd fæste forboden; 196. 17 *þeh þe* hie swiðe gebrocode wæren. And not only do we find *ðeah* and *ðeah ðe* alternating freely in the same text, as in Orosius, the Blickling Homilies, and the collection of homilies ascribed to Wulfstan, but we find *ðeah ðe* predominant in some of the later writings. Ælfric shows a very marked preference for *ðeah ðe*—desiring, perhaps, from his strong teaching instinct, to distinguish clearly between the adverb and the conjunction. The same form is the rule in the

Saints' Lives edited by Assmann, and invariable in the Salomon prose fragment. The only conclusion demonstrable from the prose texts of Old English is that in the period known to us the two forms interchange.¹ But in view of the adverbial use of *ðeah* and of its cognates in Old Norse and Old High German, and in view of the obviously connective character of *ðe*, we may well infer the evolution: *ðeah* adv. > *ðeah* *ðe* > *ðeah* cj.; though we cannot detect the process.

2. *swa*.

In Old English prose, as well as in the poetry, there are a few cases where *swa* is used in a concessive sense. 'Although' is included among the meanings of *swa* by Bosworth-Toller, by Grein (Sprachschatz), by Koch (p. 445) and by Mätzner (3. 501). The clearest case I have found in the poetry is Genesis 391, which is noted by most of these writers:

hafað us god sylfa
forswapen on þas sweartan mistas.
Swa he us ne mæg ænige synne gestælan . . .
he hæfð us *peah* þæs leohtes bescyrede.

This is much like a construction cited by Behaghel (Modi, p. 47) from Heliand: Hel. 2666 so thar was . . . sie ni weldun . . . thoh. As a rule, however, in both prose and verse the Old English construction with *swa* is somewhat ill-defined, and is rather convertible into a concessive clause than distinctly marked as such. A passage from Andreas cited doubtfully by Reussner (p. 22) illustrates the difficulty: And. 260 ff.

¹ The use of the colorless connective *that* after conjunctions is not unknown in more modern English: F. C. P. V., p. 120 Though that many men held him a perfect liver, yet his doctrine is not approved of Holy Church; Othello I. i. 71 though that his joy be joy.

him ða ondsvarode ælmihti God,
swa þæt ne wiste, se ðe þæs wordes bad,
 hwæt se manna wæs meðelhegendra,
 þe he þær on waroðe wiðþingode.

Here the construction is a sort of weakened result-clause, implying a qualification, but less explicit than the clause with *ðeah*.

Similar clauses in the prose may likewise be regarded as weakened result or modal clauses. They are usually accompanied by a negative. *Swa* must be interpreted in these cases as a rather characterless connective, shading into concession, result, or manner, as the case may be, and, with the negative, corresponding to Modern English 'without,' 'not being.' In the following, as in other passages, the clause is plainly modal; we should say, 'without seeing': Mart. 20. 27 ond on fruman he þær wunade, *swa* he nænigne oðerne mon ne geseah. In the following, the emphasis is on the contrast expressed; we should say 'yet': Mart. 208. 21 þa het he hig belucan on byrnendum baðe, on þæm heo wæs dæg ond nyht, *swa* heo na ne geswætte. In Orosius *swa* appears as a conjunction clearly implying the concessive relation: O. 206. 3 him his sunu ham onsende, se wæs on his gewearde, *swa* he nyste hu he him to com. In other passages in the same work the construction is less plain; a contrast such as might be expressed by *ðeah* is evident, but it is not clear whether *swa* is equivalent to 'yet' (with loose coördinate concession) or to 'although' (with subordinate concessive clause): O. 260. 18 þæt þær wæron XXX M ofslagen . . . *swa* nan mon nyste hwonon sio wroht com; 296. 25 ge . . . hiene . . . atugon *swa* *swa* ge woldon, 7 ealne his fultum. þæt wæs . . . II C M, *swa* eower nan ne wearð gewundod.

Finally, we have cases where *swa*, with a tinge of

concessive meaning, translates a Latin word whose application in the original was vague: CP. 301. 25 *sume menn onderfoð eaðmodnesse hiw, sume ofermodnesse, sua sua hie nyton* (quidam humilitatis decipiuntur specie, quidam vero elationis suae *ignoracione* falluntur.); Dial. 61. 6 *hi beoð full oft geypte swa hi nellað* (prodantur *inviti*).

3. *swa ðeah*.

In a very few instances, and those rather difficult of interpretation, the adversative *swa ðeah*, with a connecting *ðæt* or *ðe*, seems to be used as a concessive conjunction. This use is of especial interest as illustrating the formation of a conjunctive phrase from an adverb. The earliest passage I have noted is from Orosius: O. 136. 17 ff. *Eala, cwæð Orosius, on hu micelre dysignesse men nu sindon on þeosan cristen-dome! Swa þeh þe him lytles hwæt unieðe sie, hu earfeðlice hi hit gemænað!* The Latin has here been so freely treated as to afford no guidance in interpretation. The *swa þeh þe* clause is undoubtedly concessive, but it is logically equivalent to two clauses: 'If anything, *no matter how trivial*, falls out unpleasantly.' The same double construction appears with *ðeah* alone: O. 54. 34 *þa, þeh þe hwa wære mid þæm cyningum on hiora gewill yfel donde, þæt hie swa þeah æt him ne mehton mid þy nane are findan?* In view of such sentences as this, we may well explain *swa þeh þe* as equivalent to the usual *ðeah ðe*.

We find *swa ðeah ðæt* followed by the indicative: HL. 184. 109 *Titus and Vespasianus heora geþeaht hæfdon, swa þeah þæt Vespasianus wæs ærost gefullod.* The connection here is loose (as sometimes with *ðeah ðe*) and the construction hovers between subordinate and coördinate.

An interesting parallel in the use of the Gothic *sveþauh* is found in a single instance: 2 Cor. 12. 15 *sveþauh ei ufarassau izvis frijonds mins frijoda*. Bernhardt is in doubt whether to understand *sveþauh ei* as 'jedoch so dass' or as 'obgleich'; but Heyne defines it without question as 'obgleich,' which would seem the more natural reading.

Some instances of *swa ðeah ðæt* in the Benedictine Rule which look at first sight like 'although' are rather to be understood as retaining the full force of each word in the group: BR. 44. 15 *swa þeah þæt* = *dum omnibus modis*; 70. 14 = *ita sane ut*; etc.

Swa ðeah without any connecting particle is found as the conjunction of a condensed clause: ÆH. 1. 2. 12 *Ic Ælfric munuc and mæssepreost, swa þeah waccere þonne swilcum hadum gebyrige, wearð asend . . .*

4. *hwæðere* (?)

Another adversative, *hwæðere*, may perhaps be regarded, in a single passage, as a concessive conjunction: ÆH. 1. 158. 14 *Wenst ðu þæt he nyste hwæt se blinda wolde, seðe hine gehælan mihte? Ac he wolde þæt se blinda bæde; forðon þe he tiht ælcne swiðe gemaglice to gebedum: ac hwæðere he cwyð on oðre stowe, 'Eower heofenlica Fæder wat hwæs ge behofiað, ærðan ðe ge hine æniges ðinges biddan,' þeah-hwæðere wile se goda God þæt we hine georne biddon*. In view of the context, it is difficult to interpret *hwæðere* in any other way than as a conjunction; it is, moreover, followed by a correlative frequently used after concessive clauses. But there is no sign of the 'transposed' order which Ælfric frequently (not always) employs in subordinate clauses, and the sentence may be simply an example of careless construction.

Less definitely subordinated is the phrase—which

may be considered an elliptical clause—interpolated in the following sentence under the influence of an ablative absolute: BH. 52. 28 Swa þonne her fram þære arleasan ðeode, *hwæðere rihte Godes dome*, neh ceastra gehwylce 7 land forheregeode wæron (immo disponente iusto Iudice . . .).

5. *ðeah-hwæðere* (?)

For completeness, I mention *ðeah-hwæðere*, which, in the following passage, is translated by Thorpe as *though*: ÆH. 1. 152. 27 ðyses godspelles anginn hrepode ures Hælendes þrowunge; *þeah-hwæðere* ne ðrowade he na on ðysne timan: ac he wolde feorran and lange ær cyðan his ðrowunge his leorningnihtum. This is evidently another case of negligence; the sentences are contrasted, but all are independent.

6. *swa ðeah-hwæðere* (?)

This adversative is once employed, before an elliptical clause, in the sense of *ðeah*: LS. 2. 20. 284 Ac wite þu man þæt ic eom synful wif, *swa þeah-hwæðere* utan ymbseald mid þam halgan fulluhte.

B. *The Form of the Clause.*

The expression or omission of the verb, and the position of noun and predicate in the subordinate clause, are matters belonging to the subject of sentence-form in general, not to any specific construction, and have accordingly no significance for us at this point. The position of the concessive conjunction, however, has its importance in the light of Modern English. For in modern prose a not uncommon device is that of giving prominence to a word of the concessive clause by placing it before the conjunction: Scott, *Talisman*, ch. 24 *heathen as he is*; Wilson, *Noctes Ambrosianae*, June, 1826 *bordering though it be on*

the facetious; Landor, Achilles and Helena (Imag. Conv.) desirous though I always was. This device is almost unknown to Old English writers; the concessive conjunction stands regularly at the head of its clause. I have found one example, however, of inversion in exactly the modern manner: Sol. 26. 12 Uncuð þeah ic wære, ðonan cume ic to þæt ic hine mæge sweetolor geseon. Cf. BR. 25. 20.

In some cases of forcible assertion or injunction, where *ðeah* alone does not sufficiently mark the contrast between principal and subordinate clause, intensive particles are added. For example: BR. 119. 3 Æfter his lifes geearnunge and æfter his wisdomes lare sy gecoren se þe to abbodhade sceal, *eac swylce þeah* he latost to mynstre come and ytemest sy on endebyrddnesse þære gesomnunge. This perhaps follows *etiamsi* of the Latin, though the usual translation of *etiamsi* is *ðeah*. Other intensives: Inst. 477. 21 Ac on eallum þingum he sceal his lareowes bebodum hyran, *ge þeah* þe hyt sy . . . þ se lareow þe him tela tæce him sylf elles-hu do; HL. 142. 96 Midþam þe he cweð: Brec þinne hlaf, he getacnað, þæt þu scealt of þam þone þearfan aretan, *and þeah* þu mare næbbe þonne ænne hlaf; perhaps also PPs. 22. 4 *þeah* ic *nu* gange on midde þa sceade deaðes. The same tendency is, of course, seen in Modern English, where *though* is sometimes reinforced by *even*: Scott, Heart of Midlothian, ch. 43 This, in David's eyes, was a sin of presumption, *even although* it should not be followed by any overt act or actual proposal.

In the use of *eall* as a strengthening particle with *ðeah* we have the source of the modern conjunction *although*. This is only one of many cases where *eall*—which shades from its literal meaning, 'quite,' 'altogether,' to an intensive of the most general sort—

serves to emphasize a word or phrase. The most common is the familiar *eal swa* in its various senses. We find also: Wulf. 54. 17 *eal hy beoð yfele and swicole*; Chron. 258. 11 *eall riht swa*; Jud. 16. 11 *mid eallniwum rapum*; Cod. Dip. 3. 349. 4 *eall to wide*; HL. 184. 99 *þa Iudeas hyne . . . on rode ahengon, eall þurh heora andan*; Wulf. 162. 18 *eal for urum synnum*; etc.

The earliest examples of *all* strengthening *though* cited by the New English Dictionary are from the fourteenth century. Under the word *although* we read: 'c. 1325. E. E. Allit. P.A. 758 *My dere destyne Me ches to hys make alþaz vnmete.*' Here the two words have already coalesced. Under *all* (p. 227 a), however, we find a citation of about 1330, from Robert of Brunne, which retains a form closer to the Old English: '*þof alle Edgar þe gate, Estrild þi moder ware.*' In the Old English instances which I have found, *eall* is separated from *ðeah* by other words, and, as a rule, belongs rather to the verb than to the connective. Its function, however, is plainly to emphasize the concessive idea; it might be paraphrased, in the first cases cited, by 'never so much.' Bo. 106. 14 *ðeah he eall wille, he ne mæg*; ÆH. 2. 122. 12 *þa ne mihte se papa þæt geðafian, þeah ðe he eall wolde*; Wulf. 165. 10 *ær hy na ne magan, þeah hy eall willan*. Very similar, though perhaps a step nearer the modern idiom, is the example from Beowulf pointed out by Nader (Anglia 11. 452, § 59): Beow. 679-680:

Forþan ic hine sweorde swebban nelle,
aldre beneotan, þeah ic eal mæge.

In the following late passage, *eall* has become more colorless—less clearly connected with the verb, and more entirely devoted to the emphasizing of the concessive

idea: S. Mar. 10. 65 And þeh hit eall gelumpe þæt ænig hæfde þa geðincðe þæt heo mihte mæden beon and eac cildes moder, þehhweðere nefullcumð næfre nan to þære mærdæ, þæt heo þone ilca sune gebere oððe ægne his gelica.

NOTE. In Middle and Modern English, *all*, of course, has its separate history as a concessive connective. See NED., article *albeit*, and cf. the following: Hal. Meid. 43. 23 Ne telle þu nawt eðelich, *al beo þu meiden*, to widewen ne to iweddede; Leigh Hunt, Autobiog. (London, 1870) p. 369 I could have got it, had I been wise, for a third part of the sum, *albeit* it was neatly bound.

Thus *all* becomes, in the Middle English period, virtually a concessive conjunction. This originates as an adverb *within* the concessive clause, as the examples given above make clear; and the history of the particle is not parallel to that indicated by Mensing for MLG., MHG. *al* and *alein* (Mensing, pp. 60–69).

A mannerism consisting in the use of *nu* after both *ðeah* and other conjunctions—rather as a mere expletive than as an intensive—is characteristic of the Old English Boethius. This *nu* has usually no definite meaning, and no influence on the construction of the clause. I cite a few out of numerous examples: Bo. 27. 22 þeah hy nu ece wæron; 44. 4; 46. 30; 48. 17; 69. 1; 72. 30; 101. 8. The same expletive in *ðeah*-clauses is found in a few passages of Cura Pastoralis: 41. 2; 101. 11; 265. 6

The *ðeah*-clause is sometimes periphrastically introduced; thus BH. 124. 14 has *þeah þe þæt wære þæt* for the *quamvis* of the original. The periphrasis consists in the use of the copula or of a colorless verb meaning ‘to happen,’ ‘to befall,’ followed by *ðæt*. In some cases, the intention is, apparently, to emphasize the

remoteness or deplorableness of the idea contained in the concessive clause: S. Mar. 10. 65 (see p. 21 above); ÆH. 1. 242. 21 Ge sceolon beon geornfulle to eower agenre ðearfe, þeah hit swa getimige þæt se lareow gimeleas beo; PPs. 4. 5 þeah hit gebyrige þæt ge on woh yrsien, ne scule ge hit no þy hrapor þurhteon, þe læs ge syngien, where the Vulgate has simply: Irascimini, et nolite peccare; probably Inst. 477. 21 (see p. 19 above). In Dial. 34. 2 there is probably an effort to render *fortasse*: þeh þe hit gelumpe þæt him hwilc man þe hine ne cupe ongen come (Si quis illum fortasse nesciret, salutatus). In other cases the construction serves rather to give weight and impressiveness to the statement of the *ðeah*-clause. Such is its value in the passage from Bede quoted above (BH. 124. 14); Dial. 13. 1 þeah þe heom gelumpe, þæt hi utan on heora lichaman mænniscra lareowa lare wana wæron, þehhwæðre heomgelamp, þæt hi mid haliges gastes gife in heora heortan ingehigdum onbryrde 7 gelærde wæron; Wulf. 78. 17 and ðeah þæt sy, þæt fela manna Antecrist sylfne næfre his eagum ne geseo; 79. 19 and ðeah þæt geweorðe þæt ure ænig, þe nu leofað, þonne ne libbe; 227. 8 and þeh hwam gebyrige, þæt his fyr ut gewite, nis þæt alyfed to begetenne. The last case, however, is to be interpreted as periphrasis in the making, not developed as a separate construction, since *gebyrige* may be regarded as retaining its full meaning. In the other passages quoted, where the periphrasis is plain, its effect is one of heaviness and clumsiness; but, by acting as a sort of retard, it undoubtedly serves to fasten attention upon the concessive clause.

C. *The Mode of the Clause.*

The problem of modes in concessive clauses cannot be investigated in the mass; each connective requires special study. By far the greatest importance in this regard belongs to *ðeah*, by which simple concessive clauses are ordinarily introduced. An index of *ðeah*-clauses would show the overwhelming preponderance of the optative with this conjunction. But a word must be said as to the method to be applied in such investigation.

The only way to secure trustworthy results in the tabulation of modes is to make due allowance for ambiguous forms. Among these must be reckoned, in Old English, not only the preterit singular first and third person of weak verbs, but also preterit plurals in *-on*, except in the few texts where the distinction between optative and indicative preterit is consistently marked. It is only when unmistakably indicative forms occur that we can assert: 'In these cases, *ðeah* is followed by the indicative.' This fact has not always been duly recognized, however, by writers upon Old English. Selecting, for example, the *ðeah*-clauses from the variety of concessive clauses which Wülfing cites (2.148) as containing an indicative verb, we find that most of his examples (leaving out of account one optative: *ongitan*) are weak preterits in the third person singular, or plural preterits ending in *-on*. Only one example is certainly indicative, a passage from Boethius quoted, apparently, from Cardale's edition.¹ For the distinction between indicative and optative plural preterit is by no means

¹ An error, probably, of the late Bodleian MS., for Sedgefield, printing the *end* of the word from the Cotton MS., has the optative: Bo. 50. 21 *peah þu nu hwene ær sæde*.

always to be found in the Alfredian texts. On this point, see Krawutschke, p. 45; Fleischhauer, p. 24.

A rough and ready way of learning the preference of the language as to the mode with *ðeah*, and a preparation for determining whether the usage was uniform for all senses of the conjunction, is to note the mode after *ðeah*-clauses of any sort—concessive, conditional, or quasi-interrogative—remembering, however, that in most cases *ðeah* is concessive. The following table, including a selection of representative texts, gives a survey of the modes with this conjunction.

Text	Number of <i>ðeah</i> -clauses	Number of certain indic- atives in <i>ðeah</i> -clauses
Laws	19	0
BH.	62	1
Bo.	160	1
Sol.	50	1
CP.	145	0
Bl. H.	30	1
Gospels	19	0
BR.	19	1
De Temp.	9	2
LS. ¹	104	2
Æ Asm.	17	0
Wulf.	59	1

The single indicative in Boethius, Bo. 31. 10, occurs in a passage supplied from the later manuscript. *De Temporibus*, though a brief text, has purposely been included, because its proportion of indicatives is large. One indicative in the Lives of the Saints, LS. 1. 150. 35, is *synd*, the same as the verb of the principal clause, and may be due to confusion or attraction.

¹ Homily 27 has been excluded, as being a duplicate of a text in Rood. See LS. 2. xi.

The strongest statement, then, that we can make is that the indicative *may* appear after *ðeah*, but exceptionally in both earlier and later texts. These results agree substantially with those of Nader for Beowulf.¹ In view of the almost negligible number of undoubted indicatives, discussion as to whether the mode after *ðeah* varies with its occasional conditional or interrogative use, or with a particular form of concession, becomes idle. We may, however, apply the usual categories of fact and supposition, to see whether these optative *ðeah*-clauses are restricted to one meaning or the other. For this purpose, we may select a work of Ælfric, who rather inclines to the use of the indicative in various constructions which may have the optative (see p. 62 below, for an example of this). Of the 104 *ðeah*-clauses in the Lives of the Saints, all are concessive. Of these, 66 seem to me undoubtedly concessions of fact; the others hypothetical. And of these 66 concessions of fact, 44 have plainly optative verbs. Old English did not mark by mode the distinction between fact and supposition introduced by *ðeah*.

NOTE. In the Heliand, Behaghel finds the subjunctive practically constant after *thoh* (Modi, p. 46), though he mentions one or two exceptions. As for the cognate particle in Otfrid, Erdmann says explicitly (Otf., p. 90): 'Ohne Ausnahme steht . . . der Conj. in dem durch thoh eingeleiteten concessiven Nebensatze . . . sowohl wo dieser dem Hauptsatze vorangeht, als wo er nachfolgt, und nicht bloss bei allgemein möglichen, sondern auch bei entschieden als wirklich und tatsächlich gedachten Ereignissen.' The usage of these works, then, agrees with Old English.

The mode of the *swa*-clause, on the contrary, is indicative in all cases where the mode can be deter-

¹ Anglia 11. 452.

mined. This fact adds, of course, to the difficulty of determining in doubtful cases whether *swa* is concessive or modal, since the form of the clause is identical for both meanings.

For the adversatives occasionally employed as concessive conjunctions, statistics have little value. Of the three examples I have observed of *swa ðeah*, one has the optative, one the indicative; one has no verb. *Hwæðere* has the indicative.

THE CLAUSE IN RELATION TO THE SENTENCE.

A. *The Position of the Concessive Clause.*

The concessive clause may stand either before or after the principal clause, or, less frequently, may be inserted somewhere within it. There is no rule as to the order of concessive sentences, although in a few texts the tendency to one order or another is strongly marked. In the *Lives of the Saints*, for example, of the 104 *ðeah*-clauses, 78 stand after the principal clause. In the translation of Bede's *History*, of the 62 *ðeah*-clauses, 35 stand before the main sentence, and 5 are parenthetical; so that the tendency against 'loose' order is fairly strong.

B. *The Mode of the Main Clause.*

The concessive clause has no influence whatever upon the mode of the principal verb. The latter is indicative, imperative, or optative according to the laws usually governing independent sentences. An example of the indicative: CP. 261. 16 *Se ðe for us gebæd to his Fæder, ðeah he him emnmiehtig sie on his godhade*; of the optative: Laws 222. 8 *ælc ceapscip frið hæbbe, ðe binnan muðan cuman, ðeh hit unfriðscyp*

sy; of the imperative: Laws 40. 15 þeah hit sie ðin feond, *gecyðe* hit him.¹

C. *The Concessive Clause as a Part of Speech.*

Normally, of course, the concessive clause is adverbial. It may, however be used as substantive. The most common cases of this sort are the interrogative or quasi-interrogative clauses discussed among the idiomatic uses of *ðeah*, in the third section of this chapter. Another case is the use of the *ðeah*-clause, still with an implication of concession, to translate a Latin infinitive, as in the following passages: CP. 373. 1 ne ondræt him no, *ðeah* ðe he do God behindan hine (eumque laudi suae postponere nequaquam metuit); M. 15. 20. Again, the *ðeah*-clause may be appositive to *hit*, in cases where Modern English would use *if* and ignore the concessive idea emphasized by Old English. Examples: LS. 1. 34. 160 Ic wene þæt hit ne sy unrihtwisnysse ætforan gode þeah ðe þu wifes bruce and blysse on life; 2. 286. 1080 cwæð þæt hit ne sceolde his munuc-hade derian þeah þe he hire frofres and fultumes bruce. In the following passage, a Latin construction usually represented in Old English by a *ðeah*-clause which is probably to be considered adverbial, is appositive to *ðæt*: CP. 333.8 ff. Hwæt forstent ænigum menn *ðæt*, *ðeah* he mangige *ðæt* he ealne ðisne middangeard age, gif he his saule forspildt? (*Quid prodest homini si totum mundum lucretur...?*) In the succeeding sentence, the same idea, where the Latin still has *si*, is repeated in the Old English in a substantive *ðæt*-clause: Swelce sio Soðfæsðnes openlice cwæde: Hwelc fremu bið menn *ðæt* he gestriene eal *ðæt* him ymbutan sie, gif he forliesð *ðæt* him oninnan bið...?

¹ These passages are cited by the line of the *ðeah*-clause.

D. *The Correlatives of the Concessive Clause.*

When the concessive clause precedes the main clause or some portion of it, it is frequently followed by a correlative word or phrase which emphasizes the conflict between principal and subordinate propositions. Only rarely does such a correlative precede the concessive clause.¹ The correlative may be a definite adversative, such as *ðeah*, *swa ðeah*, or *hwæðere*, or an adverb of some other form, or even an adjective. The position of the adversative may vary from the place immediately following the concessive clause to that of the eighth or even a later word after it.

a. Adversatives and similar adverbs.

1. *ðeah*.

This is one of the most common adversatives. Its use is illustrated by the following passage, where the repetition of the same particle contrasts with the distinction in particles shown in the Latin²: Gram. 264. 14 *quamuis non roget, tamen uult habere*—*ðeah ðe he ne bidde, þeah he wyle habban*. This position of *ðeah* as the initial word after a concession is very common, but not invariable. An example of later position: BR. 20. 25 *þeah hwylc leorninccniht his ealdres gebodu mid weorce gefremme, gif he hit mid muðe beceorað opppe mid mode besargað, ne bið hit þeah Gode andfenge*.

¹ An example of the exceptional order is the following: O. 252. 2 *Ic wille, cwæð Orosius, on foreweardre þisse seofepan bec gerececan þæt hit þeh Godes bebod wæs, þeh hit strong wære, hu emnlíce þa feower onwealdas þara feower heafedrica þisses middangeardes gestodon*.

² Passages illustrating the use of correlatives are cited by the line in which the *ðeah*-clause occurs, except in the case of *for callum ðissum*.

2. *swa ðeah*.

This adversative, which is one of the most common correlatives of the *ðeah*-clause, may perhaps be analyzed into the phrase 'even so.' Its meaning, however, does not differ from that of adversative *ðeah*. Like *ðeah*, it may stand first or near the first in the the main clause, but it shows a tendency to stand at the end of a short sentence. Examples: *ÆH.* 2. 56. 28 *þeah ðe se Halga Gast ne beo swutollice genemned to ðam Fæder and to ðam Suna, swa-ðeah; he bið symle ðærto undergyten*; *Laws* 460. 27 *þeah he geþeo þæt he hæbbe helm 7 byrnan 7 golde fæted sweord, gif he þæt land nafað, he bið ceorl swa þeah*.

3. *hwæðere*.

The source of this adverb is evidently the interrogative particle *hwæðer*. Its adversative sense may have arisen from the meaning 'whichever it be', but its use is not to be distinguished from that of the adversatives already named. It usually stands at the head of the main clause. An example: *Dial.* 203. 15 *þeah þe he aræfnede halwendlic wite, hwæpre he bær his agene scame*.

4. *ðeah hwæðere*.

This compound stands at the head of the main clause. An example: *BR.* 61. 11 *þeah hit gecyndelic sy on menniscum gewunan, þæt man mildheortnesse cyðe þam oferealdum and þam cildgeongum, peah-hweþere ne scylen hy beon butan regole*.

5. *ðonne*.

Donne, which is also in use as a correlative to conditional clauses, is sometimes used as adversative after a *ðeah*-clause. An example: *Bo.* 132. 2 *þeah*

he mæge sume his willan ongitan, þonne ne mæg he eallne.

6. Ðonne hwæðere.

A combination chiefly found in the Dialogues. I cite an example, however, from another text: Inst. 468. 54 þeah we þillico wito witan 7 gelifen, þonne hwæðere ne sceolon we næfre geortrywan be Godes mildheortnesse.

7. hwæðere swa ðeah.

This unusual combination is illustrated by the passage following: HL. 154. 79 Soðlice þeah ðe he drihten us hider on middaneard eadmodlice gesohte on menniscne lichaman, hwæðere swa þeah he englas blissode on heofona rice.

8. hwæðere ðeah.

This phrase is very rare. Example: ÆH. 1. 286. 2 ðeah ðe hi ne magon beon totwæmde, belimpð, hwæðere ðeah, seo hæðung to ðære hætan, and seo onlihtung belimpð to ðære beorhtnysse.

9. huru.

Huru ('at least,' *saltem*), though not an adversative, is not infrequently correlative to the *ðeah*-clause, serving in the sentence both as connective and as qualifying adverb. For example: LS. 2. 78. 172 bæd eac ða modor þæt heo hire bearn tihte þæt he huru ana abuge þeah þe his gebroðra noldon.

10. for eallum ðissum.

The concessive phrase *for eallum ðissum* (found in Wulf. 147. 7), to be treated among the prepositional phrases of Chapter VIII, and the source of our modern phrase *for all this*, should be reckoned among the correlatives of *ðeah*-clauses, since it serves to indicate the relation between principal and subordinate clause.

b. Causal Adverbs.

The intimate connection sometimes found between causal and concessive constructions was pointed out in Chapter I. Causal adverbs and *ðeah*-clauses sometimes appear in the same sentence, not contrasted as are adversative and clause, but in a sort of apposition, showing the same fact in two lights: 'not on this account . . . even though.' Examples: HL. 141. 80 And se man þe næbbe of hwan he mæge rumlice ælmessan syllan, ne onðracige he *forðam*, þeh he lytel hæbbe; Chad. 147. 252 swilce þeah þe he fram untrumum 7 unwisum preostum were ge dered, na ge seah hine mon efre *forðon* eorne; Æ. Th. 464. 46 Sume seoce synd swa dysige þ hi ondrædað him þ hi sceolan swyltan sona for þam husle, ac we secgeað to soþan þ he ne swylt na *forþy*, þeah þe he ælce dæge underfo þ husel; Wulf. 34. 8 þeah he silf ælc unriht dreoge on his life, ne byð seo þenung *þæs* na þe wyrse.

c. Comparative Adverbs and Adjectives.

The form of adversative phrase represented in *nevertheless* had far greater importance in Old English than it has in the modern language. Old English *na ðy læs* is only one of a considerable number of comparative phrases, both stereotyped and freely coined, used correlatively to the concessive clause. These phrases, again, belong to a group which has never, so far as I have learned, received adequate attention. Old English uses comparative phrases in *butan*-clauses (a usage still sometimes found with *unless*-clauses) in purpose-clauses, not always under Latin influence, as correlatives to causal, conditional, and concessive clauses, and frequently as adversative adverbs relating independent sentences.

The use of such phrases with concessions may be illustrated by two passages, in the first of which the comparative word retains its full meaning; in the second of which the comparative passes into an adversative meaning—‘notwithstanding’: Bo. 64. 30 Hwelc gesceadwis mon mihte cweþan þ he a ðy weorðra wære þeah he hine weorðode? *ÆH.* 1. 224. 5 þeah man deadne mannan mid reafe bewinde, ne arist þæt reaf na ðe hraðor eft mid þam men.

I have noted the following comparative adverbial and adjective phrases correlative to the *þeah*-clause: nohte þon læs (*BH.* 164. 25; 316. 5; 412. 5): no þe ma (*Bo.* 28. 20): nohte ðon ma (*CP.* 163. 18): na ðy hraðor (*Bo.* 5. 30; 28. 18; 68. 16, 20; 73. 6, 17; 77. 18: *Sol.* 17. 12: *ÆH.* 1. 224. 5): no ðy fægerre (*Bo.* 32. 30): na þe bet (*Wulf.* 265. 1): ful lytle þy bet (*Bo.* 69. 7): ful lytle ðe gearor (*Sol.* 26. 16): þy bet (*Bo.* 46. 30): a ðy weorðra (*Bo.* 64. 30): no þe maran anweald (*Bo.* 68. 2).

NOTE 1. *Na ðy læs*, which I have not observed as correlative to a simple concessive clause, is found as an adversative connecting independent sentences. For example: *O.* 228. 31 na þy læs ne hergeade.

NOTE 2. The phrase *nohte þon læs* in *BH.* translates *nihilominus*; but in general these correlatives are independent of Latin influence.

NOTE 3. These phrases may be paralleled from the poetry. For example: *Beow.* 2160 ff.

*no ðy ær suna sinum syllan wolde,
hwatum Heorowearde, þeah þe him hold wære,
breost-gewædu.*

Cf. *Nader, Anglia* 11. 451.

NOTE 4. *Na ðy ma* has its analogue in Middle English. For example: *Owl and Nightingale*, 1329 f. (*Cotton Ms.*)

bah þu i-seo þe steorre als wa,
nartu þe wisure *neauer þe mo.*

IDIOMATIC USES OF THE *ÐEAH*-CLAUSE.

As in Modern, so in Old English, the concessive clause is sometimes used loosely to relate or contrast two ideas between which there is no logical opposition. Example: *ÆH.* 2. 142. 12 *forðan ðe heo ærðon eawfæst leofode, ðeah ðe se unsið hire swa gelumpe.* In the following sentence, a *ðeah*-clause equally loose in connection is added simply as a qualifier: *Sol.* 61. 8 *Honorius is swiðe god, þeah his feder betere were.*

The meaning of *ðeah* is less sharply defined than that of modern *although*. Some *ðeah*-clauses are difficult to classify as concessive or conditional. In certain other cases the particle is clearly a conditional one: for example, *Laws* 360. 2 *þonne andwyrðan þa yrfeuman swa he sylf sceolde þeah he lif hæfde.* Such clauses are, of course, not strictly pertinent to this study.

In certain cases, however, the use of *ðeah* as equivalent to Latin *si* must be interpreted not as a conditional use, but as keeping uppermost the concessive idea which may be seen in the sentence, and also, perhaps, as a stereotyped idiom. The usual translation for *si* after negative and interrogative expressions like *quid mirum* or *non mirum est* is *ðeah*. Examples are numerous in translated works. I cite two examples *not* directly taken from Latin: *PPs.* 50. 6 *nis hit nan wundor þeah þu sy god and ic yfel;* *ÆH.* 2. 186. 9 *Hwilc wundor wæs, ðeah se halga wer ealne middaneard ætforan him gesawe . . . ?* After *wundrian*, also, where Modern English would use *if* or *that*, *ðeah* is the usual particle. For example: *Bo.* 101. 6 *Forðæm ðu ne þearft nauht swiþe wundrian ðeah we spyrien æfter ðæm ðe we ongunnon.*

The concessive idea is still more clearly marked

in sentences of the type, 'What shall it profit a man though he gain the whole world?' Old English almost invariably employs *ðeah* in such sentences, even when translating a Latin *si*. Examples: M. 16. 26 Hwæt fremað ænegum menn þeah he ealne middan-eard gestryne . . .? L. 9. 25; Bl. H. 55. 4; Inst. 480. 24; HL. 149. 130.

Deah may also be an interrogative particle meaning *whether*. The reason for including this usage among concessive constructions is that there may be some concessive force in these questions. It is a singular fact that the interrogative use of *ðeah* occurs only after *nytan*, *uncuð*, and possibly *weald*. Two of these words are negative. Examples of *nytan ðeah*: Bo. 64. 9 Ic nat þeah ðu wene þæt hi on hiora agenre cyððe ealne weg mægen; 107. 25; 110. 32; 131. 23: Sol. 20. 1; 47. 1; CP. 411. 22; HL. 134. 614: Jos. 9. 7: Cart. 2. 179. 5. It is to be observed that most of these examples are from works ascribed to Alfred, and that the final one is from his will. Of *uncuð ðeah* I have found only one instance: LS. 1. 390. 119 Clypiað git hluddor; uncuð þeah þe he slæpe. The meaning is evidently 'perhaps'; one may compare 'Who knows whether?' The singular phrase *weald ðeah* also means 'perhaps.' Of *weald* I have been unable to find any satisfactory explanation. When used alone it seems to mean 'lest.' Whether it is to be explained as originally noun or verb cannot be determined. The phrase *weald ðeah* is evidently an old formula which can hardly be analyzed. Examples: ÆH. 2. 340. 9 Weald þeah him beo alyfed gyt behreowsung; 466. 10: Jos. 9. 7: Nic. 488. 27, 33.

CHAPTER III.

DISJUNCTIVE CONCESSIVE CLAUSES WITH CONJUNCTION.

The alternative concession, which in Modern English is expressed by an indirect question with *whether* ... or, was by preference expressed in Old English (at least in the later prose) by parallel inverted clauses without connective. There are, however, two well-defined modes of expressing this relation in clauses with conjunctions.

THE *SAM*-CLAUSE.

Old English possesses a special particle for alternative concessions, the somewhat rare word *sam*. This connective is singular in having no exact analogue in other languages. Its conjunctive use suggests a connection with Old Norse *sem*; but as the New English Dictionary and Wright's Dialect Dictionary, in discussing the English representative of *sem* (for which see articles on *howsomever*) do not mention *sam*, this connection is doubtful. The use of *sam*, moreover, does not correspond to the use of *sem*. We should expect *sam*, like *sem*, to have relative uses, if *sam* were the source of the Middle English relative *som*. But if *sam* ever was a relative corresponding to *sem*, that use is lost in the literature we possess. Its meaning, however, may be akin to that of *swa*, which is also used in disjunctive concessions. 'As in this case ... so in that case' can easily be read into most concessions of this type. It should be noted at the same time

that *sam* seems related to the series *som* (noun), *samod*, *samen*, *gesamnian*, and *same* (in the combination *swa same*).

If this view is correct, the original use of the correlative probably is, 'the same in this case ... the same in that.' One may perhaps compare the modern colloquial phrases, 'all the same,' 'just the same,' often used as correlatives to concessions. But this notion probably faded early into the more general one of connection, and the particle has no more specific meaning than correlative *swa ... swa* in its concessive use, or than our comparable *whether ... or*.

The distribution of the word is also curious. It is not included in Grein's *Sprachschatz*. By far the greater number of occurrences are in the works attributed to Alfred the Great. Yet the word persists, not only in the Winteney version of the Benedictine Rule, which copied it from the older version, but also in a passage of Middle English prose: OE. Hom. 2. 107.8 on þis wis cumeð ech iuel þonc and speche and dede neðen uppard, sam it haue angun of þe mannes lichames wille sam it haue þe biginning of the deules for-tuhting.

NOTE. There is one passage in which *sam* has been interpreted as a simple, not a correlative conjunction: Bl. H. 53. 17 ne sylþ he hit us to þon þæt we hit hydon, opþe to gylpe syllan, sam hwylcum mannum þe naht swiþe God ne lufiaþ: ah we hit sceolan ... þæm earmestum mannum dælon. Morris translates *sam* 'or,' a meaning which might arise from the correlative use. But may it not be possible that *sam* is prepositionally used? 'Not that we should hide it, or give it ostentatiously, like some men who do not truly love God.' This use of *sam* would arise more naturally from the meaning 'the same' than from a merely relative meaning. It may be, however, that we have here simply the pronoun *sam-hwylc*.

Clauses introduced by *sam* are short, and always, where the mode can be determined, with an optative verb. The correlative group may stand in any part of the sentence: Sol. 24. 1 *Sam ic wylle, sam ic nelle, ic sceal secgan nide riht*; O. 21. 17 *hy gedoð þæt ægþer bið oferfrozen, sam hit sy sumor, sam winter*; Herb. 166. 9 *Eft wið wunda, som hy syn of iserne som hy syn of stence oððe fram nædran, genim þysse ilcan wyrte wos*. The number of parallel clauses may be greater than two: Sol. 58. 13 *þæt ælc man on þisse wurlde swa miclum lufað God swa he wisdom lufað, —sam he hine miclum lufige, sam he hine lytlum lufige, sam he hine mydlinga lufige?* The adversative *ðeah* follows the *sam*-clause in this sentence: Bo. 60. 6 *sam hi þyrfen, sam hi ne þurfon, hi willað þeah*.

Most occurrences of this construction are in original passages, though in translated works. The following sentence, however, is directly from the Latin: BR. 66. 14 *Sam hy fæsten, sam hy ne fæsten... arisen hy sona swa hy heora mete hæbben* (Et ideo omni tempore sive jejunii sive prandii, ... mox ut...). The same construction is retained in WV. 89. 4. The interlinear version here has, apparently, the alternative clause without conjunction: IG. 74. 8 *sit fæstenes sit ge-reordung*; which, as Logeman's foot-note points out, may be a scribal error for *sig ... sig*.

If this understanding of the gloss be correct, the two translations of the Latin phrase illustrate how entirely equivalent is the *sam*-clause to the correlative clause without conjunction, to be discussed in another chapter. This is further illustrated by the use of *sam* in the formula *sam ic wylle, sam ic nelle* (Sol. 24. 1); etc. The equivalent formula without conjunction—as *wylle we nelle we* (ÆH. 1. 532. 7)—is a familiar idiom.

CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *SWA* ... *SWA* ... *SWÆÐER*.

The correlative construction formed with *swa* and the interrogative pronoun *hwæðer* is rather frequently employed for disjunctive concessions. These can best be understood by comparison with the general use of the same idiom. It may simply define alternatives: Bo. 91. 19 Nim ðonne *swa wuda swa wyr*t, *swa hwæðer swa þu wille*—‘either tree or plant, whichever thou wilt’; Laws 204. 8 Gyf he þonne ne mæge, gewylde man hine *swaðor man mæge*, *swa cwicne swa deadne* (Latin version: *exsuperetur quibus modis poterit sic uiuus sic mortuus*). The alternatives are balanced by means of *swa*; and are also covered by the indefinite-interrogative clause with *swa hwæðer swa* or its contraction *swæðer*. The verb of the *swa hwæðer swa* clause, in this more general use, is often, but not always, optative. *Swæðer* may become adverbial, the construction otherwise remaining the same, as in the example just cited from the Laws. On this point, cf. Wülfing 1. 449, § 351.

Precisely the same form of clause is used when the sense is concessive, and it is only by the logical relation of clause and context that we can make sure of concessive import. The mode of the verb furnishes no certain test, for though these clauses, when concessive, usually have the optative, the indicative is also found. It is impossible to decide by its form whether the clause in the following passage is concessive or merely modal: Bo. 101. 7 Forðæm ðu ne þearft nauht swiþe wundrian ðeah we spyrien æfter ðæm ðe we ongunnon, *swa mid læs worda swa mid ma*, *swæðer we hit gereccan magon*. The original affords no clue, since the clause was added by the translator. As, however, no other idea is contrasted with the *swa* ... *swa* clause, I have regarded the latter as *modal*.

A clause which seems to be modal, passing over into concession, appears in this passage: Laws 183. 13 þæt man nænne gingran mann ne sloge þonne XV wintre man, buton he hine werian wolde oððe fleoge... þæt hine man þonne lede *swa æt maran swa æt læssan, swa hwæðer hit þonne wære*. The Latin version has: ut tunc deducatur sic in maiori sic in minori, quaecumque sit. The clause seems to mean, 'as with the elder, so with the younger'; with a sort of indefinite concession added: 'whichever it might chance to be.'

NOTE. Laws 179. 22 should perhaps be included among concessions of this type. But although the form *swa hwær swa*, which it contains, is an occasional variant of *swa hwæðer swa*, I have interpreted it as meaning *wherever*, since Liebermann, in his Glossary of the Laws, does not mention this form of *hwæðer*. Accordingly, I have placed the passage among the indefinite concessions of Chapter V.

Disjunctive concessions with *swa* do not have the effect of balancing two separate and complete propositions, but rather two members of a sentence—appositive nouns, adverbial phrases, etc. Examples: Bo. 110. 27 forðæm ðæt is se betsta anwald þ mon mæge 7 wille wel don, *swa læssan spedom swa maran*, swæðer he hæbbe; BR. 66. 9 swaþær hit sy, *swa an mæl swa twa*; Gram. 19. 12 hic coruus ðes hremn, *swa hwæðer swa hit byð, swa he, swa heo*; Lchd. 3. 162. 23 he bið ealdorman, *swa wer, swa wif*, swa wære (*sic*) he bið.

In the form of the clause there is considerable variation as to details; and variation independent of foreign influence, for these clauses, even in works of translation, often occur without any prototype in Latin. In a few passages the construction is expanded to two clauses. I cite two examples from Cura Pastoralis, showing the *swa*-clause without subject. The most nearly equivalent passages from the original are added

in parenthesis, to indicate how thoroughly independent these clauses were of Latin influence. CP. 85. 14 & geðence he simle, *sie sua æðele sua unæðele*, swæðer he sie, ða æðelu ðære æfterran acennesse (quatenus nobilitatem semper intimae regenerationis aspiciat) 451. 14 For ðæm ðingum bið ælc god weorc god, *sie swa open swa degle*, swæðer hit sie (Unde fit plerumque, ut bonum opus et in occulto sit, cum fit publice; et rursus in publico, cum agitur occulto). The following has the subject of the *swa*-clause expressed: Laws 164. 9 onfo se his þe he hit ær ætbohte, *beo he swa freoh swa ðeow*, swa hwæðer he sy. The affinities of this expanded *swa*-clause seem to be rather with the *beo . . . beo* type of clause to be treated in Chapter IV, than with the hortatory-indefinite form of clause treated in Chapter V; for the disjunctive meaning remains even when the verb is added.

The correlatives may stand either before or after the *swæðer*-clause. Examples of clauses of this type, with the *swæðer*-clause succeeding: Bo. 110. 27 forðæm ðæt is se betsta anwald þ mon mæge 7 wille wel don, swa læssan spedum, swa maran, swæðer he hæbbe; CP. 451. 14; Lchd. 3. 162. 23; etc. With the *swæðer*-clause preceding; Gram. 260. 13 siue uir siue mulier, swa hwæþer swa hit sy, swa wer swa wif: BR. 66. 9; etc.

Various modifications of these clauses occur. The simplest is the extension (in a gloss) of the *swa*-clause to two pairs of alternatives: Coll. 100. 23 swa hwæðer þu sy, swa mæsseprest swa munuc (Siue sis sacerdos, siue monachus), swa ceorl swa kempa (seu laicus seu miles) bega . . . In contrast to the occasional expansion of the construction to two full clauses, we find ellipsis of the verb in each clause: Lchd. 3. 186. 4 swefen, swa wæder (*sic*) swa god swa yfel, gefremminge hit hæfð.

In this not very strongly marked concession, another indefinite takes the place of *swæðer*: *Æ. Asm.* 62. 253 *Se ðe his scyppend gremap, þæt hit bið gewrecen gewislice on him, swa ær, swa lator, locahu god wylle.* Other clauses illustrate a confusion between the correlative *swa*, and the correlative *ðe* which often appears in alternative questions: *BR.* 111. 7 *þæt hi þurh gode geearnunge furðor syn gemedemad, syn swæper hy syn þe sacerdhades swa clerichades*; *Gram.* 243. 14 *man cweð on leden hic miluus, þes glida, swa hwæðer swa hit sy, he þe heo* (only one particle with the alternatives).

There is also some contamination with other forms of concessive clause. The clause of *BR.* 111. 7, just quoted—*syn swæper hy syn*—has the hortatory form often found in general indefinite concessions, to be treated in Chapter V. In the following passage, the indefinite-interrogative clause is combined, not with the usual *swa . . . swa*, but with inverted clauses without conjunction, such as are to be discussed in Chapter IV: *Gram.* 267. 16 *Praepositio mæg beon gecweden on englisc foresetnys, forðan ðe he stent æfre on foreweardan, swa hwær [a variant form of hwæðer] swa he byð, beo he gefeged to oðrum worde, ne beo he.* In another case, the *swæðer*-clause is missing altogether, but *swa* combines with the formula, usually expressed without conjunction, 'wille he nelle he': *BH.* 412. 1 *swa he welle swa he ne wille, he sceal to Columban mynstre cuman.* The Latin here has simply: *quia uelit nolit, debet . . .*

The use of *swa . . . swa*, or an equivalent disjunctive, with the clause containing *swæðer* or *swa hwæðer swa* is so nearly uniform that I have thought it most true to the facts of Old English to treat concessions of this type as primarily disjunctive, instead of classing

them with the indefinite concessions to be considered in another chapter. It is apparently out of this elaborate disjunctive construction that the simpler use of the *swæðer*-clause alone developed. Of the latter usage I have found only three examples, two corresponding to Modern English 'whichever it be,' and the other corresponding to our 'whether . . . or.' The earliest example is only quasi-concessive: Bo. 67. 9 *swa hwæðer swa hi dydon* ne dohte him ða nawðer, þeah hi scoldon þ feorh ælætan. Sedgefield translates, 'do what they would,' which undoubtedly gives the general sense. But the clause may be interpreted as a sort of appositive to *nawðer*; in any case, *nawðer* supplies the place of the usual *swa . . . swa*, and so the clause is not freed, as our modern *whichever*-clause is, from external signs of relationship. The verb, which seems indicative, is really an ambiguous form (see Krawutschke, pp. 44-5). In another passage, however, we find a clause exactly corresponding to 'whichever they mean': Gram. 123. 10 *timeor, ic eom ondræd . . . ða word eac sume þe synd nevtra gecwedene, habbað þrowjendlice getacnunge . . . ac hi ne geendjað næfre on or, swa hwæðer swa hi getacnjað*. Here the verb is unmistakably indicative.

In the following, we find a clause corresponding to our 'whether . . . or' construction; and not, as one might expect, based on the disjunctive question with *hwæðer* . . . ðe, but on the *swa hwæðer swa* clause: Wulf. 201. 10 *swa hweðer swa he bið ofslagen þurh miht ures drihtnes agenes bebodes oððe Michael . . . hine ofslea, þurh ðæs lifigendan godes miht he bið ofslagen and na þurh nanes engles mihte*. Here the verb of the first clause is indicative; that of its parallel clause optative. Nothing could better illustrate the absence of a fixed rule regarding the modal influence of these connectives.

NOTE. I have found no example of *hwæðer . . . ðe* or *hwæðer . . . hwæðer* in a concessive use. A natural starting-point for such a construction, however, is found in sentences like the following: BH. 128. 20 Ða frægn he hine, hwæt þæs to him lumpe, *hwæðer he wacode þe slepe, 7 hwæðer he þe ute þe inne wære*. This, of course, is a question from the Latin: *quid ad eum pertineret, utrum ipse intus an foris noctem transigeret*. But a certain conflict of ideas is implied. If the same construction were used with a verb of meaning related to *lumpe*, such as *recan* (with which *ðeah* is actually found), it would be understood as concessive.

CHAPTER IV.

INVERTED CONCESSIVE CLAUSES WITHOUT CONJUNCTION.

The concessive relation, like the conditional,¹ may be expressed in Old English by an 'inverted' clause without conjunction. In the case of concessive clauses of this type, the verb is invariably in the optative mode. This form of concession is still in use, as in the following sentence from Scott: *Talisman*, ch. 28 by this hand, thou shalt, *wert thou the proudest Plantagenet of the line*. But in Old English this type of clause is not used for simple concessions, such as the one just quoted. With a few apparent exceptions,² all inverted concessive clauses are disjunctive or distributive. That is, there may be two alternative clauses, resembling the concessions with *sam* and *swa* ... *swa* ... *swæðer*; or there may be a series covering a variety of cases. I cite an example of each use: LS. 2. 320. 82 ic nelle abugan fram his biggengum æfre ne fram his soþan lufe, swelte ic lybbe ic; Cod. Dip. 4. 232. 9-10 ælc ðara landa ðe on mines fæder dæge læg into Cristes cyrcean, wære hit kynges gife, wære hit bisceopes, wære hit eorles, wære hit þegenes. The meaning of both forms of sentence can be reduced to a generic relation: the assertion or the injunction of the main clause stands, *no matter what the circumstances*.

¹ Conditions of this type are discussed by Mather, pp. 25-6.

² Among these may be reckoned clauses with *næfre swa*, for which see p. 60 below.

NOTE. In Middle English, the inverted paratactic clause was in use for simple as well as for disjunctive concessions. For a discussion of both types, see Redepenning, pp. 68–9.

FORM AND USES OF THE IDIOM.

The verb of these inverted clauses is ordinarily a form of *beon*, and the material of the clause is accordingly not a complete proposition, as a rule, but an adjunct of the sentence, such as a genitive modifier or adverbial phrase, or a noun or adjective. Thus the use of these clauses is similar to that of the disjunctive *swa*-clause. But other verbs than *beon* are also to be found, at least in the works of Ælfric: *ÆH.* 1. 252. 14 *Getimige us tela on lichaman, getimige us untela*; 2. 10. 7 *hæbbe heo cild næbbe heo*: *LS.* 2. 320. 82 *ic nelle abugan fram his biggengum æfre ne fram his soþan lufe, swelte ic lybbe ic*.

NOTE. In Modern English this form of concession, which is normally accompanied by *or*, is still largely restricted to the verb *to be*. Such a clause as the following is unusual: *Heart of Midlothian*, ch. 27 *win she or lose she*. When other verbs are used, they tend to be without subject or definite reference to other members of the sentence—to be, in fact, infinitive. For example: Webster, *Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson*, *Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish*, *I give my hand and my heart to this vote*; Stevenson, *A College Magazine (Memories and Portraits)*, *That, like it or not, is the way to learn to write*.

The verbs of the concession are usually in the present tense. This is very natural, since they are largely employed in commands. But when the main clause is in a past tense, the concessive clause conforms to it. For example: *Cod. Dip.* 4. 232. 9 *ælc ðara landa ðe on mines fæder dæge læg into Cristes cyrcean, wære hit kynges gife, wære hit bisceopes*.

The parallel clauses may stand in any part of the sentence, though the initial position is exceptional. I have noted two sentences with the concession preceding the main sentence; 16 in which it has the medial position; and 25 in which it is placed finally.

NOTE. The paratactic disjunctive concessions of Old English contrast in several respects with those of Old and Middle High German. In the latter languages the mode of disjunctive concessions might be either subjunctive or indicative. (On this point, see Mensing, pp. 16 ff.) Nor was inversion their invariable characteristic. When the mode was indicative, the verb was placed first, in order to distinguish the clause from an independent statement. But Mensing says emphatically (p. 17): 'Dagegen ist invertierte Wortstellung beim *Conjunctiv*, wie sie im Nhd. üblich ist ("sei er gut oder böse") im Alt- und Mhd. *unbekannt*.'

In a few late passages, a series of inverted concessive clauses is followed by an indefinite clause of the same form as the indefinite concessions treated separately in another chapter. The indefinite clause sums up not only the cases named, but all possible cases, and is therefore to be distinguished from the *swæðer*-clause used with the disjunctive *swa . . . swa*. I cite the examples I have noted: Wulf. 271. 1 gif hwæt færlices on þeode becymð (beon hit hereræsas, beon hit færcwealmas, beon hit miswyderu oððon unwæstmas, beo swa hwæt swa hit beo) sece man þa bote aa to gode sylfum; Laws 282. 13 bete man georne be þam þe seo dæd sy, sy hit þurh feohtlac, si hit þurh reaflic, sig þurh þæt þe hit sy; Laws 264. 4; ÆH. 1. 318. 28. In the following passage, there are but two clauses, *ouðer* serving as the connective between the definite and the indefinite clause: Chron. 36. 22 beo he of Engle lande ouðer of hwilc oðer igland beo he. In this example it is noteworthy

that, although the combination *beo he* is displaced to the end of the clause, it retains the usual inverted order. In all these sentences, the concessive idea is somewhat faint, as in many disjunctive concessions in modern speech. The notion is present, and might be expressed by 'no matter what the case'; but the construction is also a device for naming particular cases, for the sake of clear understanding.¹ A Middle English passage in which the concessive element is much stronger may be compared: Hal. Meid. 33. 7 *beo he cangun oðer crupel, beo he hwuch se he eauer beo, þu most to him halden*; 'even though he be a fool or a cripple, no matter what he be, thou must hold to him.'

The regular parallelism of the *beo . . . beo* clauses shows a tendency to pass over into the use of *oððe* or *oðer*. We find the connective especially in cases where the concessive group, if consistently formed, would contain several clauses. For example: Chron. 31. 28 *ic bidde ealle þa ða æfter me cumen, beon hi mine sunes, beon hi mine breðre, ouper kyningas þa æfter me cumen, þ ure gyfe mote standen*; Cod. Dip. 4. 24. 16 *bi hit scrud, bi hit net, oððe wæpne, oððe isen, gold oððe seoluer*. A long series of such condensed clauses is concluded, in the following passage, by an indefinite clause: ÆH. 1. 318. 28 *wæron hi Ebreisce, oððe Grecisce, oððe Romanisce, oððe Egyp-tisce, oððe swa hwilcere ðeode swa hi wæron*. Again, in Chron. 36. 22 we find the number of clauses reduced to two, of which the second is an indefinite clause, and which are connected by *ouðer*. Finally, the alternative idea may be expressed with a single verb: Laws 366. 21 *si he Denisc oððe Englisc, beo he*

¹ Cf. Mensing (p. 18) on the interrelations of the disjunctive concession and the indefinite in MHG.

his weres scyldig [MSS. B and A express both verbs]; Cod. Dip. 4. 198. 13 sy hit londe oðer an oððer þinge.

In the following very late passage we find a construction growing out of the disjunctive concession with *oððe*: Chron. 259. 8 (ann. 1128) he hit dide forði þ he wolde þurh his micele wiles ðær beon, *wær it tweölf monð oððe mare*. This is not disjunctive; the meaning is simply: 'twelve months or more.' Nor is there any definite concession; the clause furnishes an emphatic means of saying, 'as long as he pleased.' But it is in form a simple, not disjunctive, concessive clause, and helps to mark the transition, among inverted clauses, from the alternative to the simple concession. This, with the examples previously given, indicates clearly that so far as the simple inverted concession was approached in Old English (with the exception of the indefinite *næfre swa* clause to be discussed in Chapter V) it grew out of the disjunctive clause with *oððe*.

A formula which has had a continuous life in English, and which is still current in the compound *willy-nilly*, is illustrated by these passages: ÆH. 1. 532. 7 we sceolon, *wylle we nelle we*, arisan on ende þyssere worulde; LS. 1. 344. 121 we synd synfulle and sceolan beon eadmode, *wille we nelle we*; Chron. 245. 11 þ he sceolde him læden to Cantwara byrig 7 blætson him to þ, *wolde he nolde he*.

SOURCE OF THE IDIOM.

The origin of this concessive idiom cannot be traced with certainty. So far as evidence afforded by the prose can indicate, the construction is a rather late development, for concessions of this kind are not found in the earlier prose. Examples are to be

sought in the later Laws and Charters, the Peterborough Chronicle, the Ecclesiastical Institutes, the works of Ælfric, and the 'Wulfstan' collection of homilies. The paratactic disjunctive clause seems to replace the construction with *sam . . . sam* found in the works ascribed to Alfred. It is probably, however, an idiom of native growth.

For the separate clause agrees entirely in form with the inverted conditional clause, which is found in most of the Teutonic languages. The concessive use of such clauses would seem to be merely an extension of the conditional use. *Contrasted* conditions, in fact, amount to a disjunctive concession. In both condition and concession, the form of the clause, like the form of the indefinite concessions discussed in another chapter, closely resembles that of a hortatory clause. For the concessive sentence there is this important difference, that the verb of the inverted clause is in most cases *beon*, while that of the indefinite clause is frequently a verb of more specific meaning. Thus the verb of the inverted clause, being little more than an optative *sign*, passes readily into a potential or merely connective meaning. Old English employs *two* methods of indicating subordination in concessive clauses of this kind: the optative mode, and the inverted order. Old and Middle High German employed either of these methods alone, but not both. While recognizing the resemblance of inverted concessions in Old English to hortatory clauses, we must be cautious in connecting them, in view of the possibility, in Old High German, of using the direct order. I may add that the Old English inverted clauses exhibit no such gradation from hortatory forms as I shall try to trace in the chapter on Indefinite Concessions. We can only say that Old

English possessed a paratactic construction which could be turned to conditional or to concessive use.

NOTE. Delbrück does not mention paratactic forms, in any language, in his discussion of *Concessivsätze* (*Der Germanische Optativ*, pp. 301 ff.), though he remarks that in the clause *be he as he will* the optative is concessive (*ibid.*, p. 270). It may be noticed also that Delbrück asserts (*op. cit.*, p. 274): 'Bei einem rückblick auf die parataktischen sätze wird man gewahr, dass nur ein typus sich dem urgermanischen zuweisen lässt, nämlich der der irrealen bedingungsperiode mit zwei optativen präteriti.' This marks a clear distinction between the prevailing type of paratactic conditional sentence in Germanic, and the prevailing type of paratactic concessive sentence in Old English.

As to the ultimate source of these inverted constructions, cf. the guarded statement of Delbrück regarding the supposed interrogative origin of *indicative* paratactic conditions (*op. cit.*, p. 270): 'Was den ursprung des typus angeht, so liegen im altschwedischen behauptungssätze vor, welche durch verschiebung vor einen anderen satz zu ausnahmesätzen geworden sind. Die voranstellung des verbums hat, wie bemerkt, in diesem sprachgebiete nichts auffälliges. In den anderen dialekten pflegt man wegen der invertierung des verbums auf den fragesatz zurückzugehen, was möglich ist.'

CHAPTER V.

INDEFINITE CONCESSIONS.

We have already seen how the paratactic concessive clause, with the verb in the optative and preceding its subject, may be generalized by the addition of an indefinite clause. A general concession, corresponding to the Modern English *whoever*, *whenever*, 'and *come what may* constructions, and containing an indefinite pronoun, adjective, or adverb, may also be used alone.

THE INDEFINITE RELATIVE CLAUSE.

The indefinite relative *se ðe*, with its various inflectional forms, is found in a number of concessive clauses. The special point of interest concerning these clauses is that their form agrees closely with that of certain mere general permissions or exhortations.¹ Excellent examples of the latter construction, with the verb in the optative standing before its subject—an indefinite relative—are found among the parenthetical clauses so freely introduced in the 'Wulfstan' homilies. For example, Wulf. 311. 11 and *leohtgescot gelæste man be wite to Cristes mæssan and to candel-mæssan and to eastron, do oftor se ðe wyll*. Probably permissive (not concessive) is also the following: Laws 204. 18 7 *gesece se æbæra ðeof ðæt þæt he gesece, oþþe se ðe on hlafordsearwe gemet sie, þæt hi næfre feorh ne gesece*n.

¹ Cf. Wülfing 2. 69: 'Der Konjunktiv dient im (eingeschobenen) Hauptsatze dazu, einen einräumenden Sinn auszudrücken.'

Concessive clauses of this form are found chiefly in the Laws and Charters; other instances are scattered.

A. The Pronoun in the Nominative Case.

Cart. 3. 630. 30 ic wylle þ min wif fo æfre to heal-fan æhtan on ælcon tune, fo to lande se þe fo, swa hio to forgyuen wæs; Laws 177. 25 we cwædon: dyde dæda se þe dyde, þe ure ealra teonan wræce, þæt we wæron . . . ; O. 154. 19 cwædon þæt him wislecre þuhte þæt hie ða ne forluren þe þær ut fore, hæfde bearn se þe mehte (here the clause is equivalent to a negative—‘though no one had’); BO. 80. 17 Beo þæt ðinga þæt hit beo, þæt se man te note wyrcean wylle, bidde he god fultumes (a sentence not represented in the Latin); Cod. Dip. 3. 362. 29 sy efre seo ælmesse gelest gearhwamlice, age land seðe age; 4. 23. 35 ic ann ðam ilkan menstre . . . ða gehrihte of ðam ilkan wætere, of ægðer healue ðas streames, age land se ðe hit age; 4. 118. 17 ga land and feoh into sancte Augustine . . . si abbod se ðe si; 6. 187. 21 and ic nelle na geðafian ðæt man ðam bisceope ænige unlage beode, beo gerefa se ðe beo.

B. The Pronoun in Other Cases than the Nominative.

Bo. 113. 2 Don þa yflan þ þ hi don, syle bið se beag goodes edleanes ðæm godu gehealden on ecnesse; 130. 19 Swa swa sio nafu bið syle swa gesund, hnæppen þa felga on þ ðe hi hnæppen; Laws 316. 24 gyf he bocland hæbbe þæt sy forworht þam cingce to handa, si ðæs mannes man þe he sig; 390. 5 forfange sylle . . . sy ðæs cynnes orf ðe hit sy; Chron. 217. 4 þær him comon to . . . ealle þa land sittende men . . . wæron þæs mannes men þe hi wæron; Dip. Ang. 612. 30

gif cniht oþerne gewundie wrece hit hlaford . . . 7
sece þæt he sece, þ he feorh næbbe; Cod. Dip. 4. 24. 8
heora is ðæt scip . . . and se tolne of ealle scipen bi
ðas ðe hit beo (Latin version: cuiuscumque sit); 4.
226. 24 wyrce ðæt he wyrce.

C. *The Indefinite Relative combined with Hwa.*

Bo. 112. 19 wyrce hwa þ ðæt he wyrce, oððe do þ
he do, a he hæfð þ þ he geearnað.

THE INDEFINITE INTERROGATIVE.

The indefinite interrogative pronoun (or pronominal adjective) has also, of course, other uses besides that of expressing concession. It may be used with the indicative: Bo. 142. 16 men magon begitan þurh þone freodom swa hwæt swa hi willað. Or the optative may be employed, to emphasize the generalness and undefined character of the clause: OET. 451. 20 ond swe hwylc mon swa ðæt sio þæt ðes londes bruce ofer minne dæg. Such emphasis on the general case shades naturally into the general concession—the general situation in which something still remains true or obligatory. The following sentence may be looked at in either light: De Abus. 301. 16 He sceal beon swa geworht þ him man mote wið spreca; 7 swa hwæt swa he sprece, sprece for rihtwisnysse, na for his agenu yrrē. It is sometimes difficult, accordingly, to decide whether or not a given indefinite clause has a concessive coloring. I subjoin those clauses which have seemed to me to bear such an interpretation, arranging them, for convenience of reference, under the different pronouns used.

1. *swilc*.

The pronoun *swilc*, like *se ðe*, may be used in a permissive clause: Laws 171. 10 *sece swylce socne swylce he sece, þæt he ne sy his feores wyrðe, butan swa feola nihta swa we her beufan cwædon*. This is virtually the same formula as that of Laws 204. 18 (repeated, Laws 328. 25) and of Dip. Ang. 612. 30 (citations under *se ðe*). The three passages form an instructive series. Laws 204. 18 is somewhat obscured by the use of *gesecan* in two senses; but it is to be interpreted as permission plus prohibition *in spite of* the permission just granted. In Modern English we should expect *nevertheless*. Laws 171. 10 has the same structure, made clearer by difference of phrasing. Let the permission be weakened to a supposed case, and the clause becomes conditional or concessive. In this use we actually find the same clause—one would judge as a remnant of the old formula—with no shade of permission, and apparently with the vaguest meaning: Dip. Ang. 612. 30 *sece þæt he sece, þ he feorh næbbe*.

Concessive clauses containing *swilc*: Bo. 64. 6 *ac simle him wolde þ fylgean 7 hi symle weorðe gedon, wæron hi on swelcum lande swylce hi wæron*; Cart. 3. 75. 36 and *ælcan þæra þa is on minnum hirede, si swilcre note swilc he sy*; BR. 12. 20 *sy swylcera gebyrda oþþe gecyrrednesse swylce he sy . . . sy he gemedemad on stede and on setle*; 115. 15 *sy se furðor on ælcra endebyrdnesse, þe on þære forman tide pæs dæges, þonne se on þære oðre tide cymð, sy he swylcre ylde oðþe geþincðe swylce he sy* (*cujuslibet aetatis aut dignitatis sit*); Inst. 474. 50 *Gif man hwylc metrum cild to mæssepreoste bringe, sy of swylcre mæssepreost-scyre swylce hyt sy, þonne fullie he hit sona*; Cod. Dip. 4. 24. 24 *beo swilces*

hades swilc he beo, bio he gehealden for æscege-swap.

An interesting case of expansion, with added emphasis, is found in BR. 67. 5 *sy heom swylc hyrsumnes betæht, swylc him sy, hy þa forlæten and to ðære rædincge mid ofste cumen* (Si quis forte in *assignato sibi commissio* fuerit occupatus, occurrat).

Another very interesting construction occurs in a late passage of the Laws, where *swilc*, instead of being accompanied by the regular correlative *swilc*, introduces a series of suppositions: Laws 471. 27 beo þæra þreora swylc hit beo (gylde he, þeowige he 7¹ polige he) finde borh, gyf he mæge.

2. swa hwylc swa.

Dial. 337. 13 hwylc man is, þe him ne ondræde . . . swa unasecgendlicne cwyde . . . sy swa hwylces weorces 7 geearnunge man swa hit sy . . . ? The original has: Quis . . . cujuslibet sit operis, . . . non pertimescat . . . ? The same construction is translated by *swilc*, BR. 115. 15. Wulf. 34. 11 do swa hwylc swa hit [? error for *he*] do, godes sylfes miht byð on þære dæde þurh halig geryne; Cod. Dip. 4. 209. 1 ealle ða men ða beon motwurði, ferðwurðe and faldwurði . . . swa hwilc man swa ða men ahe; 209. 13 swa hwylc man swa ða socne ahe, sanctus Benedictus habbe his freodom.

In one case *swa hwylc man swa* is equivalent to *ðeah hwa*: Inst. 353. 22 Swa hwylc man swa cennende wif freo gedeð, þ bearn bið *swa-þeah* a þeow (Quam quis . . . fecerit, infans tamen semper erit servus).

3. swa hwa (hwæt) swa.

LS. 1. 214. 93 Ne miht þu gebigan minne willan to þe: swa hwæt swa þu minum lichaman dest, ne mæg

¹ One would expect, of course, to find *oððe*.

þæt belimpan to me. Here we have the indicative, though most such clauses are optative; but the concessive meaning is clear—‘in spite of anything you may do’—and the opposition of principal and subordinate clause is marked by the contrast between *minum lichaman* and *þæt* (= *gebigan minne willan*). Chron. 263. 11 (ann. 1135) Wua sua bare his byrthen gold 7 sylure, durste nan man sei to him naht bute god. Here, in a late entry, written when old distinctions of mode were breaking down, the optative survives.

NOTE. This indefinite was later strengthened by the adverb *ever*: Hal. Meid. 27. 12 hwat weole oðer hwat wunne se þer eauer of cume, to deore hit beoð aboht. *Ever* came to be an essential part of the pronoun: F. C. P. V., 141 whatsoever thou or such other say, I say that . . . In recent usage the *so* (OE. *swa*) has dropped out altogether, except occasionally in elevated style: Ruskin, *Ethics of the Dust*, Lecture 3 The atoms never do that, whatever human creatures do. Or the interrogative alone may carry the indefinite sense: Henry 8 II. i. 65 Be what they will, I heartily forgive 'em; T. L. Peacock (*Works*, London, 1875, 1. xlv) Belong Herat to whom it may.

INDEFINITE ADVERBS.

Indefinite adverbs of place, time, or manner may also be turned to concessive use. These adverbs are demonstrative-relative, as *ðær*, or indefinite-interrogative, as *swa hwær swa*. Their forms are various. *Swa* and *ðær* are doubled, or even used singly; other adverbs are followed by *ðe*, or combined with *swa*.

A. Indefinite Adverbs without *Swa*.

1. *ðær* (*ðæ̃r*).

One example from the *Laws* is of especial interest (always allowing for the lateness of our manuscripts)

because of its occurrence in a very early text (Laws of Wihtræd, 695–6 A. D.): Laws 13. 5 Gif man his mæn an wiofode freols gefe, se sie folcfry; freolsgefa age his erfe ænde wergeld 7 munde þare hina, sie ofer mearce ðær he wille. This rather obscure clause Liebermann translates: ‘auch wenn jener jenseits der Grenze lebt, wo er wolle.’ Other instances: Bo. 11. 19, 21 wære þer he wære, simle he hæfde þone mid him; þōn he ðone mid him hæfde, wære þær he wære, þōn wære he mid his agnū cynne (here the repetition of the concession is noteworthy); Bl. H. 129. 33 for þon æghwylc man, sy þær eorðan þær he sy, þurh gode dæda Gode lician sceal (*þær* enforced by *eorðan*); Lacn. 127. 30 sy þæt sar þær hit sy, smite mon ða sealfe ærest on þæt heafod; Laws 239. 32 and 248. 14 þonne bið he weorðe þæt hine man þe bet healde, wunige þær he wunige; Cod. Dip. 4. 226. 24 ic habbe geunnen Wulfrice ðæt abbodrice in Hely . . . sitte his mann ðer ðar he sitte, wyrce ðæt he wyrce.

2. ðanon ðe.

Inst. 474. 53 for nænigum unæmtan ne forlæte he (þ he¹) hit ne fullie, sy þanon þe hit sy; Cod. Dip. 4. 24. 8 heora is . . . se tolne of ealle scipen . . . cume ðanon ðe hit cume; HL. 188. 202 Beo þanon þe he beo, sig he cynyng æfter me.

B. Swa as Indefinite.

With indefinite-modal *swa*, as with the indefinite pronouns, we find an instance of the simple permissive sentence: Laws 453. 34 Swa sceal god scyrman his hlaforðes healdan, *do ymbe his agen swa swa he wylle*. The second clause, however, is in the nature of a

¹ Thorpe's conjectural addition.

qualification, and the contrast between *his hlaforðes* and *his agen* brings the two clauses into an antithetic relation. It is easy to see how such a construction can become equivalent to a subordinated concessive clause. It is so used in Laws 186.24 *Gif hwa heonan-forð ænigne man ofslea, ðæt he wege sylf ða fæhpe . . . sy swa boren swa he sy.* The subordination becomes still more complete when, with the use of the preterit, all suggestion of permission is lost: Cart. 2.176.24 (the will of Alfred the Great) *þa spræce wyt ymbe uncre bearn þæt hy sumre are be þorftan, sælde unc on þam brocum swa unc sælde.*

Here, then, as in the cases discussed in connection with *swilc*, we find a series logically graded from simple permission to pure concession. Though these instances alone hardly warrant any judgment as to a historical evolution—for the concessive example is a century or more older than the permissive—the fact may prove to have significance.

C. *Indefinites formed with Swa.*

1. *swa hwær swa.*

Laws 179.22 *habban þa gerefcscypas begen þa fullan spæce gemæne, si swa hwær swa hit sy, swa be norðan mearce swa be suðan.* Here *swa hwær swa* appears in combination with the alternative *swa . . . swa* which usually accompanies *swæðer*. Gram. 277.12 *þas synd gehatene praepositiones, forþan ðe hi beoð æfre foresette oðrum wordum, swa hwær swa hi beoð gefe-gede (note the indicative). BR. 31.7 þæt sy æghwær, ge on weorce, ge on gebedhuse, ge innan mynstre . . . and swa hwær swa he sy sittende, standende, oðþe gangende, onhnigenum heafde simle . . .* The Latin has the participle, vel *ubique sedens . . .* which the

Interlinear Gloss translates by the indicative: *oððe swa hwar swa he bið*; and the concessive idea is not strong.

2. *swa hu swa.*

ÆH. 1. 588. 29 *Ic wundrige ðe . . . þæt ðu ðyssere lare fylían wylt, swa hu swa hit gewurde, sylfwilles oððe neadunge, þæt he on rode gefæstnod wære.*

3. *swa hwyder swa.*

Adm. 34. 19 *Se eorðlica kempa bið æfre gearo and caf, swa hwyder swa he faran sceal to gefeohte mid ðam kininge.* This is not a perfectly defined concession; the indicative once more replaces the optative usually found in concessive indefinite clauses, and the clause, taken alone, might be read as one of place simply. But the rest of the sentence establishes the concessive interpretation; the emphasis is not upon fighting, but upon fighting *in spite of* obstacles: and he for his wife ne for his wencum ne dearr hine sylfne beladian ðæt he ne scule faran.

INDEFINITE EXPRESSIONS OF DEGREE.

The Protean particle *swa* may be utilized also to express indefinite quantity or degree, with a concessive meaning. Laws 108. 14 (Laws of Ine, 688–695, in Alfred's code) *Gif mon afelle on wuda wel monega treowa, 7 wyrð eft undierne, forgielde III treowu ælc mid XXX scill.; ne ðearf he hiora ma geldan, wære hiora swa fela swa hiora wære.* A similar passage: Laws 56. 18 (Laws of Alfred, 871–901, MS. E.) *forgielde ælc great treow mid V scill., 7 siððan æghwylc, sie swa fela swa hiora sie, mid V pæningum; MS. H. siþpan ælc, swa monig swa þær sy.* The latter example, however, may be interpreted as merely distributive.

A similar construction in a Calendar printed by Cockayne has logically very little justification; the writer used roundabout concessive clauses because he had no means of saying briefly, 'Add to the result,' 'the excess over thirty': Lchd. 3. 228. 17, 18 gif þu wille witan hu eald se mona scyle beon oþer geare on þisne dæg, þonne wite þu hu eald se mona beo nu to dæg, þonne *beo se mona swa eald swa he beo*, do XI. þær to; þonne *beo þær swa fela swa þær beo* ofer þa XXX., þonne bið se mona swa eald.

The Peterborough Chronicle, 'written in the first instance about the year 1122' (Chron. 1. xii) furnishes our earliest examples of this idiom in the negative form: Chron. 233. 29 7 þær him ferdon on buton swa swa hi sylf woldon. 7 him nan þing ne wið stod, ne him to ne dorste scip here on sæ ne land fyrð, *ne eodon hi swa feor up*; 220. 16 nan man ne dorste slea oðerne man, *næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedon* wið þone oðerne. This is logically equivalent to the positive *swa . . . swa*, but more emphatic.

NOTE 1. It is somewhat remarkable that this indefinite is not found as a translation of the equivalent Latin *quamvis*, *quamlibet* with an adjective. Old English translation, however, is of course often very free, and attempts to render the *quamvis* construction in any fashion are hard to find. Wærferth, whose style is frequently awkward, uses the *ðeah*-clause for this purpose: Dial. 50. 32 swa hwæt swa man mihte gedon þæt þær uteode, þeah þe hit medmycel ele wære (*quamlibet parum olei exire potuisset*); 173. 3 þeah þe heo lytles hwæt geseo of þam leohte þæs scyppendes (*quamlibet . . . parum de luce Creatoris aspexerit*).

NOTE 2. Indefinite concessions of this kind have a far more important place in Modern than in Old English prose. The modern idiom is in daily use. *As*, the equivalent of *swa . . . swa*, has, to be sure, in this sense been generally replaced by *however*. It may still be found, nevertheless:

Heart of Midlothian, ch. 6 Wretched as he is, and *wicked as he may be*, he has a share in every promise of Scripture.

The negative phrase *never so*, though now obsolescent, has also survived in modern speech. Hal. Meid. 29. 27 nabben ha neuer se muchel wiðuten iþe worlde; Ps. 58. 5 (AV. and RV.) charming never so wisely. In the fifteenth century we find the phrase coalescing with the formal concessive clause: F. C. P. V. 116 though I could teach and live never so virtuously; cf. Baldwin, p. 67f. This usage also maintained itself: Jonson, Bartholomew Fair I. i. though I were never so strait-laced.

DISCUSSION OF THESE PASSAGES.

In the case of the indefinite concession, it is remarkable that so large a proportion of all the examples known are to be found in the Laws, Chronicles, and Charters, where, if anywhere, we are to look for the preservation of archaic language. In the code of Alfred, which includes that of Ine, we actually find the same formula repeated in a law which, in its later version, has an intent opposite to that of the earlier (see citations under *Indefinite Expressions of Degree*). The Charters, also, evidently seeking for legal exactness in covering all possible cases, repeat such expressions as *age land se ðe hit age*. Of the 56 indefinite concessive clauses mentioned in this chapter, 10 are from the Laws, 15 from the Charters, 4 from the Peterborough Chronicle, 8 from the works of Alfred (Orosius and Boethius), 4 from the Benedictine Rule, 15 scattered. It is evident that we have here a native idiom, found mainly outside the writings of those whose style was largely influenced by Latin models.

Of these 56 clauses, 45 are unmistakably optative, 7 indeterminate, and only 4 clearly indicative: Inst. 353. 22; LS. 1. 214. 93; Gram. 277. 12; Adm. 34. 19.

That is, three of the four indicatives are in works ascribed to Ælfric.

As was to be expected, the clauses of the Laws and Charters are usually found in prescriptions or in bequests, such as those introduced by *ic ann.* In the Chronicle and in Alfred, on the other hand, the concessive clause depends upon a statement, or upon some subordinate clause. Thus, at least by the time Alfred wrote, the indefinite concessive clause was fully in use with declarative as well as with hortatory sentences. In all I find 28 clauses dependent on bequests or commands; 28 dependent on statements or subordinate clauses. This result may be contrasted with the practice of Otfrid. Erdmann (Otf., 117 f.) finds many concessive clauses of the *sô wer* type depending upon a hortatory subjunctive or an imperative; and only one with an indicative principal clause (a question): Ev. IV. 21. 27 So war so si thin richi, . . . thoh bistu zi alawaru kuning?

The greater number of the clauses conform to the pattern of the ordinary permissive clause containing an indefinite: verb + indefinite + second verb—do swa hwylc swa hit do. Only 11—all in texts later than Alfred—deviate from this rule. Of the remaining 45, only 8 are in the preterit tense, 3 of these in indirect discourse; only 5, that is, in direct discourse are removed from the tense of an actual command. The 11 clauses not modeled on the permissive clause have either indefinite + subject and verb (9)—swa hu swa hit gewurde—or negative verb + indefinite (2)—næfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedon. That is, 9 follow, so far as arrangement goes, the indefinite relative clause, such as: swa hwæs swa ge biddaþ on minan naman, eal ic iow sille (Wulf. 223. 20). We find parallel ideas expressed in the permissive and non-

permissive form: do swa hwylc swa hit do—swa hwæt swa þu minum lichaman dest; age land se ðe hit age—swa hwylc man swa ða socne ahe.

In discussing specific passages containing *se ðe*, *swilc*, and *swa*, I have tried to show that a simple indefinite permission contains in germ the possibility of concessive use. Unfortunately enough, the hortatory clauses which seem to mark the transition are from a late period, the latter part of the tenth century and the first part of the eleventh. Granting, however, that such an adaptation of the permissive clause might occur, there is no reason why it should not, by a natural psychological process, take place over and over. How readily the indefinite permission lends itself to concessive use may be seen by a mere analysis. I give my consent to some undefined procedure; that means that I accept the consequences. The idea of some contrasted result taking place *in spite of* this procedure—though it be only acceptance of consequences—is involved in the nature of such a permission. It is an easy step from this kind of sentence to one retaining the permissive form, but dealing with ideas and hypotheses instead of allowing actions—from *do ymbe his agen swa he wylle* to *sælde unc on þam brocum swa unc sælde*.

The same tendency may be illustrated by examples from other languages than Old English. Shakespeare's Marry that will, I live and die a maid (All's Well IV. ii. 74) and Tennyson's Then let come what come may . . . I shall have had my day (Maud XI) exemplify permission and concession in one. Still more striking is the presence of a verb implying a will outside the speaker, in the following thoroughly subordinated concession: Heart of Midlothian, ch. 4 were I a man, I wad hae amends o' Jock Porteous, *be the upshot what*

like *o't*. In Latin, besides the short clauses *quamvis* and *quamlibet*, which have become concessive conjunctions, we find occasional concessive clauses in which each element retains its force: Caelius 67 *quam volent* faceti sint; De Deorum Natura 2. 46 *quam volet* Epicurus iocetur et dicat se non posse intellegere, numquam me movebit. These are clearly permissions with concessive force added (references from Lane, p. 326). Cf. Draeger 2. 769 ff., on *quamvis*, *quantumvis*, etc.; and Delbrück, Synt. Forsch. 1. 27, on a related optative in Greek.

In the earliest Old English prose the concession is already well developed: Laws 108. 14 *wære hiora swa fela swa hiora wære*; 13. 5 *sie ofer mearce ðær he wille*. We cannot hope, then, to find the actual genesis of the construction. The example last cited, however, contains the same sort of permissive idea, joined with the indefinite, which we find in the examples quoted from Latin and Modern English. The same verb appears in an actual permission: Laws 453. 34 *do ymbe his agen swa swa he wylle*. Other passages which have been quoted show permissive clauses on the way to becoming subordinate. In the 'Wulfstan' homilies, hortatory clauses of much the same form as undoubted concessions are simply interpolated, having no grammatical connection whatever with their context. Thus there is much variation in the use of similar forms. In view of the adaptability of the optative-indefinite type of clause, in view of the general tendency of such optative constructions as those adduced from Latin and English, and in view of the clauses found, in Old English, in a transitional stage, there can be little doubt that the indefinite concessive clause originated in a clause of permission.

This leaves unexplained the few clauses which

follow the indefinite-relative type. These clauses, however, are late. The relative-indefinite, as a means of explanation, of course existed alongside the hortatory-indefinite clause. Partly through confusion, partly through desire for brevity, its form might be adopted, in concessions, in place of the cumbrous double verb. We cannot trace the process. But it is certain that the permissive form of the indefinite concession prevailed in Old English, and continued in Middle English. In Modern English the relative form predominates.

CHAPTER VI.

CLAUSES OF OTHER KINDS ADAPTED TO CONCESSIVE USE.

In Old English, as in other languages, clauses normally employed to express other relations may take on a stronger or weaker concessive meaning. Thus we have temporal, concessions, modal concessions, etc. Such clauses often indicate an attempt to say or suggest two things at once—the concessive idea superadded to some other. Accordingly, the concessive element may be more or less distinct in a given case, and classifications become debatable. It is impossible to eliminate the personal equation altogether from judgments upon these points. The general principle, nevertheless, remains clear; and however doubtful an individual sentence may be, there can be no doubt as to the secondary concessive use of clauses of various types. For the understanding of a language in its essential aspects, a study of such usages has greater value in the mass than in details. I have therefore abandoned the attempt to give exact statistics regarding the constructions to be reviewed in this chapter, and shall seek rather to indicate the materials possessed by Old English which could be adapted to concessive use.

On the other hand, just because the meanings of clauses are sometimes shifting and elusive, every clause to be considered at all must be studied separately on its own merits. Full citations thus become a necessity.

The clauses which may become secondarily concessive fall into two groups: those of generic meaning, including relative, temporal, and local clauses; and those which have a more specialized use, including conditional and correlative comparative clauses, and definite clauses of quantity or degree. For explanation of the former group, I may adapt the observation of Adams¹ upon the *ða*-clause: the ease with which such clauses bring two acts into the field of view is so great that their occasional concessive use is most natural. Clauses of the second group—and of the first group so far as they retain specific meaning—become concessive when the relation they represent is viewed in a particular aspect; *i. e.*, when that relation involves a conflict between two notions.

RELATIVE CLAUSES.

The relative clause may have concessive force merely through its logical relation to the context. In many cases, however, the concessive idea is emphasized, more or less distinctly, by means of particles or demonstrative pronouns.

A. *An Adversative in the Relative Clause.*

This construction is, in most cases, simply a direct translation from Latin. Dial. 294. 5 *þæt se ælmihtiga God swa forlæteþ sweltan his gecorenan, þa þonne hwæpre he ne læteþ na beon forholene æfter deaþe, hwylcre halignesse hi beoð* (quod . . . Deus sic permittit mori, quos tamen . . . cuius sanctitatis fuerint, non patitur celari); BH. 370. 18 *diglum wordum op-*

¹ The Temporal Clause in OE. Prose, p. 11.

enade 7 cyððe, þa mon *hweðere* æfter fæce sweotollice ongeotan mihte (uerbis obscurioribus, quae *tamen* postmodum manifeste intellegerentur); BH. 410. 16 þæt ic scealde Drihtnes . . . ærende Ecgbrihte bringan, ðæt þu *hweðere* scealt him sæcgan (ut responsum . . . adferam, quod te *tamen* referente oportet ad illum uenire); BH. 440. 31 hwelchwugu god dede, ða he hwæðre . . . aðeostrade (bona aliqua fecit, quae *tamen* . . . obnubilauit).

The adversative perhaps due to a misreading of *tam*: Dial. 273. 10 þa geseah he Speciosus sawle . . . ut gan of þam lichaman, se wæs *swa þeah* swiðe feor þonon (vidit Speciosi . . . animam *tam* longe a se positi de corpore exire).

Not traced to a Latin original: LS. 2. 68. 39 hwylce mettas wæron mannum forbodene on ðære ealdan æ, þe mann ett nu *swa-ðeah*; 72. 84 be ðam clænum nytenum oððe be þam unclænum on ðære ealdan æ, þe mann ett nu *swa-ðeah*.

With these sentences may be compared such passages from Modern English as the following: Bacon, Of Parents and Children (Essays) but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who many times, nevertheless, prove the best.

B. *An Adversative in the Main Clause.*

Clauses of this form seem not to be copied directly from the Latin; even when they occur in translated works, they are found in passages added by the translator. Indirectly, however, they may well have been influenced by Latin sentences containing an adversative within the relative clause.

The first example approaches the clause of 'characteristic'; the meaning is 'even he who:'. Sol. 43. 21

þonne se ðe ealre scearpost locian mæg, ne mæg *þeah* þa sunnan selfe geseon swilce swilce heo ys. Somewhat similar in form, but closer to the meaning of the ordinary *ðeah*-clause, is the following: Bo. 116. 26 þa menn þe ðisū leasungū gelefdon, *þeah* wisston . . . A non-restrictive clause, for which a *ðeah*-clause could well be substituted, appears in this passage: Æ. Asm. 61. 226 Saul, se cyning, þe syngode ongear god and hine swa gegremode, þæt god cwæþ be him, þæt him ofpuhte þæt he hine to cyninge gesette, næs na sona dead for his synnum *swa þeah*.

Both forms of clause are found in 'Wulfstan.' Restrictive: Wulf. 262. 13 swylce eac be ðam hean muntum and dunum, þa ðe heah standað ofer ealne middaneard, þa hwæðere wite habbað þæs ealdordomes. Non-restrictive, and with adversative preceding!: 53. 15. 20 gemacað þæt se man hywað hwilum hine sylfne *þeh* mihtine and unforhtne, þe nah on his heortan ænigne cefscype, . . . gedeð þæt se man hiwað *þeh* hine sylfne swylce he deop inngehyd hæbbe, þe nat na mycel gescad æniges grades.

The same in principle, though different in grammatical structure, is this pleonastic sentence: Bl. H. 55. 23 Manige men beoþ þe þa word þære halgan gesægene lustlice gehyraþ & *þeah* hrædlice hie forgytaþ þæt hie hwene ær ymbhygdigum earum . . . gehyrdon reccean & secgan = Manige men þe þa word . . . gehyraþ, *þeah* hrædlice forgytaþ . . . Cf. Bl. H. 25. 4.

Parallels to these relative clauses may of course be found in Modern English. For example: De Quincey, Shakespeare (Works, New York, 1878, 6. 16) since . . . Pope, who had expressly studied Shakespeare, was, *after all*, so memorably deficient in the appropriate knowledge.

C. *A Demonstrative in the Main Clause.*

This form of sentence is rather logically than grammatically equivalent to the concessive sentence; the relative clause defines or characterizes the noun brought into relief by the demonstrative pronoun. Yet the expression of contrast is marked, and these clauses approach in form and meaning those against which an adversative is balanced. Examples are to be sought in translations from the Latin, but answering to a variety of Latin constructions.

O. 74. 22 *Seo ilce* burg Babylonia, seo ðe mæst wæs 7 ærest ealra burga, seo is nu læst 7 westast (Et tamen magna *illa* Babylon, illa prima . . . condita, nunc . . . subversa est). Here the OE. demonstrative used is much stronger than that of the Latin, which relies largely for its antithetical effect upon balance of phrase. In the following, the translator simply followed the Latin: BH. 68. 12 swa swa ða goodan fædras gewuniað heora flæslecu bearn . . . *þa seolfan* þe heo mid þam wiitum preagað 7 swencað, lufiað eac 7 wilniað him to ærfeweardum to habbenne (ipsos quos doloribus adfligunt, habere heredes quaerunt).

The antithetic *se ilca ðe* is a favorite construction in *Cura Pastoralis*. It may translate the equivalent Latin relative, supplying a demonstrative not found in the original: CP. 35. 24 *Se ilca* se monegum yfelum wið hine selfne forworhtum ær gearode, he wearð eft sua ungemetlice grædig ðæs godan deaþes butan ælcra scylde & ælcra wiðerweardnesse wið hine (qui malis ante noverat pie parcere, in bonorum quoque necem post didicit . . .); 173. 19 *sio ilce* lar ðe oðrum hielpað, hio dereð ðæm oðrum (Saepe namque aliis officunt, quae aliis prosunt); 261. 4 (combined with emphatic *self*) hu monig yfel ure Dryhten & ure Alisend geðo-

lode mid *ðam ilcan* mannum ðe he *self* gesceop (quanta redemptor noster ab his quos creaverat pertulit mala). Again, it translates the appositive participle: 261. 7 ff. *Se ilca* se ðe ælce ðæg saula gereafað of ðæs ealdan feondes honda (de manu antiqui hostis captivorum animas quotidie rapiens), *se ilca* se ðe us ðwiehð mid ðy halwyndan wætre (aqua salutis nos diluens) *se* na ne forbeag mid his nebbe ðara triowleasena monna spatl.

Se demonstratively used, the antithesis emphasized by contrasted adverbs of time: *ÆH.* 1. 330. 26 he *ða ðone* wolde habban him to mundboran, *þam ðe* he nolde *ær* his cruman syllan.

A weaker demonstrative *se*: *ÆH.* 1. 226. 13 Ac se ðe nolde of ðære rode abrecan, se aras of ðære byrgene; *Adm.* 42. 12 se wæs hafenleas for us, se ðe hæfð ealle ðing; *Wulf.* 23. 2 se ðe ah geweald heofones and eorðan ... se let hine sylfne ... acwellan. Cf. *Bl. H.* 33. 29 se þe mihte hine sona on helle gewitnian; 75. 25 se þe wæs lareow & soþfæstnesse bysen.

D. *Without Demonstrative or Adversative.*

Clauses of this sort, though without formal adversatives, are often contrasted with the principal clause through the use of *ær* and other particles. A large proportion of the examples found are in the works of *Ælfric*.

Huru translating *saltem*: *CP.* 109. 17 ðæt hi huru him menniscne ege ondræden, ðæt hie ne durren syngian, ða ðe him ne ondrædað ðone godcundan dom. The effective balance of *menniscne ege* and *ðone godcundan dom*, in which the antithesis partly resides, is of course due to the Latin: ut humana saltem formidine peccare metuant, qui divina judicia non formidant.

Nu expressing contrast in time, in clauses which seem to combine the ideas of cause and of concession: *ÆH.* 1. 530. 30. 32 *þær wepað ða eagan on ðam helligan lige þe nu ðurh unalyfedlice gewilnunga goretende hwearftliað*; and *þa teð þe nu on ofer-æte blissiað sceolon þær cearcian on þam unasecgendlicum pinungum.*

Ær or *æror* as contrasting adverb; *Deut.* 28. 62 And *eowre wurðað feawa to lafe, þe ær wæron swa fela swa heofenes tungla* (*Et remanebitis pauci numero, qui prius eratis sicut..*); *ÆH.* 1. 332. 30 *swilce hi þonne lufian heora siblingas, ðe ær on life ne hi sylfe ne heora magas ne lufedon*; *LS.* 1. 454. 221. *ham eode blyðe butan latteowe ana, Se ðe lytle ær þanon wæs gelæd þurh ðone oþerne*; 458. 283 *Him wæs eac forgifen þæt he wel mihte gehyran, se ðe ær næfde ne eagan ne hlyst*; 466. 398 *seðe ær wæs geboren on bære to cyrcan*; 2. 14. 214 *heo be his naman næmnede hine þone ðe heo næfre ær ne geseah ne næfre fore secgan ne gehyrde*; *Adm.* 40. 12 *ðu bist Godes freond, ðu ðe wære ðeow æror*; *Chron.* (*Laud MS.*) 219. 7 *Se þe wæs ærur rice cyng 7 maniges landes hlaford, he næfde þa ealles landes buton seofon fot mæl*; 221. 28 *þa Dænescan þe wæs ærur ge tealde eallra folca ge treowast wurdon awende to þære meste untriwðe.*

Other similar adverbs: *Chron.* 219. 8 *se þe wæs hwilon ge scrid mid golde... he læg þa ofer wrogen mid moldan*; cf. *Chron.* 264. 33 *sume ieden on ælmes þe waren sum wile rice men.*

With this whole group may be compared such passages as *III Henry* 6. II. iii. 46 I, that did never weep, now melt with woe.

Even when there is no formal marking of contrast through adverbs or pronouns, there is often an emphatic

word or phrase to point the antithesis. Examples, again, are chiefly from translations and from the writings, original and translated, of Ælfric. Out of many clauses with a stronger or fainter shade of concessive meaning, I select the most striking.

Sol. 68. 20 *þa goodan nellað heora yflum freondum arian ... ðe ma þe Abraham wolde þam welegan arian, þe he hys ægnes kinnes were.* The passage is noteworthy, in this early translation, as not being found in the Latin. CP. 51. 23 *ða ðe beoð mid hira agnum byrðennum ofðrycte ðæt hie ne magon gestondan, hie willað lustlice underfon oðerra monna (qui ... urgetur ex propriis, humerum ... opprimendus ponderibus submittit alienis).* Dial. 229. 24 *þa reþan deor, þe uneaðe hi æfre mihton manna sweord ondrædan, hi forhtodon 7 hi ondredon þære ferelan slegas of þæs halgan mannes handa (quae gladios formidare vix poterant, ... ictus ferulae pertimescebant);* John 13. 14 *Gif ic þwoh eowre fet, ic þe eom eower Lareow and eower Hlaford (Vulg.: Si ... ego lavi pedes vestros, Dominus et Magister).*

Other examples: De Temp. 3. 15 *þa steorran, þe us lyttle þingeað, synd swyðe brade;* Mart. 196. 8 *þær hy gedydon þæt cild sprecende þæt ne wæs anre nihte eald.*

NOTE 1. In one case a relative clause makes an awkward approach to the disjunctive concession: Mart. 10. 3 *ealle þa cnihtcild þe wæron twam gearum geborene oððe anre nihte eald cild.* The source of this sentence appears to be in a passage from Bede (quoted Mart., p. 225): *a puero duorum annorum usque ad puerum unius noctis.*

NOTE 2. For coördinate concessions within the relative clause, see Chapter VII.

TEMPORAL CLAUSES.

The frequency with which temporal clauses and temporal connectives pass into concessives in Modern English has been pointed out by Kellner (p. 73) and Mätzner (3. 452, 462).

The same principle is involved in the adversative meaning sometimes given to the adverbs *meantime*, *meanwhile* (cf. Mätzner, 3. 385). The employment of the Latin *cum* as a concessive particle (on which see Lane, p. 315, and Draeger 2. 772), and the use of the French *quand même*, illustrate how natural is the transition from the temporal to the concessive relation. A single example from Modern English may stand as a type of this usage: Ethics of the Dust, Lecture 3 While they owned the real good and fruit of it, they yet held it a degradation to all who practised it. In Old English, as in Modern, the transition is sometimes so complete that the temporal particle might be regarded, as *swa* has been, as a true concessive conjunction. I follow Professor Adams, however, in reckoning as temporal all connectives of this kind.

A peculiar feature of the temporal concession in Old English is the number of cases in which a temporal conjunction, with more or less of concessive meaning, is used to translate concessive *cum*. One is forced to the conclusion that, though the concessive character of the clauses translated was recognized, *cum* itself was looked upon as a distinctively temporal conjunction. Examples (quoted in the succeeding paragraphs) are John 4. 9; 6. 71; 7. 15; 12. 37; BH. 80. 7; 88. 9.

With temporal, as with relative concessions, there may be an adversative in the principal clause; this is often, but by no means always, in close imitation of a Latin original.

A. With Adversative in the Main Clause.

1. *ða* and *ðaða*.

This connective, when followed by an adversative, always retains something of its temporal force. The adversative in a substantive clause: O. 134. 27 *þa* *þegna* *angin þa* *hie untweogendlice wendon þæt heora hlaford wære on heora feonde gewælde, . . . þæt hie swaþeah* *noldon þæs weallgebreces geswican*. The sentence is an addition of the translator's own. The following seems to be an awkward combination of the temporal and concessive ideas, and the adversative is supplied by the translator: CP. 115. 9 *Ða ða* *Cornelius* *for eaðmodnesse wel dyde ðæt he hine astrehte beforan him, he ðeah* *hine selfne ongeat him gelicne* (*Petrus . . . a bene agente Cornelio et sese ei humiliter prosternente immoderatus venerari recusavit seque ei similem recognovit*). The two ideas again united, but as naturally and easily as in modern colloquial style: Guth. 159. 8 *þaþa* *se mennisca fultum him beswac, hine þeahhwæþere se godcunda fultum gefrefrode*; Int. Sig. 50. 475 *Ða* *godes englas . . . þu cwædon, Ne be healde ge underbæc, ac efstað aweg, þa no þe læs* *beseah lothes wif underbæc* (a sentence not in the Latin original); Bl. H. 215. 31 *Ða* *he . . . þa gesihþe geseah, þa ne wæs he hwepre noht feor on oferhygd ahafen on mennisc wuldor*; Wulf. 12. 14 *þa þa þæt wæs þæt deofol þæt folc swa mistlice dwelede . . . þa wæs þeah* *an mægð ðe æfre weorðode þone soðan godd*.

2. *siððan*.

CP. 385. 2 *siððan* *he his cnihtas gelæred hæfde ðone cræft dæs lareowdomes, he cwæð swaðeah* (*postquam . . . instruxit, illico adjunxit: Vos autem . . .*); here the adversative is copied from the Latin, but

displaced. Bl. H. 177. 28 syþþan hie ðæt feoh on-fengon ne mihtan hie *hwæðre* forswigian þæt þær geworden wæs.

3. mid ðy.

BH. 80.7 mid þy seo æ monig þing bewereð to etanne, swa swa unclæne, *hwæðre* in godspelle Drihten cwæð . . . (cum multa lex . . . manducare prohibeat, in euangelio tamen Dominus dicit . . .); 88.9 mid þy we weoton þæt se lichoma ne mæg lustfullian buton þam mode, *hwæðre* þæt seolfe mod . . . (cum caro delectare sine animo nequeat, ipse tamen animus . . .); 316. 16 þæs gemanan myd þy heo wæs . . . brucende, *hwæðre* heo . . . awunade (cum . . . uteretur . . . tamen . . .). In the following the whole sentence is built out of a double *cum*-clause: Dial. 155. 27 mid þy se Godes wer hine . . . lærde þæt he hit gebetan sceolde, he *swa þeah* nanum gemete him to þon hyran nolde (Cumque eum vir Dei . . . admoneret, ipse vero nullo modo consentiret . . .).

B. Without Adversative in the Main Clause.

1. ða and ðaða.

When no adversative is present, as when the adversative is used, concessive *ða* means *although* (as in John 6. 71) or *at the very time when* (as in BH. 48. 21). A single exception is found in O. 30. 22 hio wæs wilniende mid gewinnum þæt hio hy oferswiðde, *ða* hio hit ðurhteon ne mihte. Here *ða* introduces a more loosely connected clause; the meaning is 'though in fact,' and the clause approaches independence.

Examples of the more common usage: BH. 48. 21 þa him ælc mennisc fultum blonn, þæt hi ma on godcundne fultum getreowodan (ubi humanum cessabat auxilium); John 6. 71 þæs hine belæwde, þa he

wæs an þara twelfa (Vulg.: cum esset unus ex duodecim); 12. 37 Ða he swa mycele tacn dyde beforan him, hi ne gelyfdon on hyne (Cum . . . tanta signa fecisset); Mk. 16. 11 þa hi . . . hine gesawon, þa ne gelyfdon hi him (The Vulg. is quite different in meaning: audientes quia . . . visus esset ab ea); Int. Sig. 48. 473 Hwi wearð lothes wif awend to sealtstane, þaþa god sende his twegen englas to ahreddene loth 7 his wif? (clause added by translator); 46. 440 Hu mihte abraham beon clæne . . . þa þa he hæfde cyfese under his riht wife? (dum . . . conjunctus est ancillae suae); ÆH. 1. 140. 9, 10 he wolde mann beon for us, ðaða he God wæs, . . . he wolde beon þearfa for us, ðaða he rice wæs; cf. 2. 118. 23.

2. *ðonne*.

John 4. 9 Humeta bitst þu æt me drincan, þonne ðu eart Iudeisc, and ic eom Samaritanisc wif? (Vulg.: Judaeus cum sis); 7. 15 Humeta cann þes stafas, þonne he ne leornode? (Vulg.: cum non didicerit); ÆH. 1. 64. 34 se . . . gytsera wile mare habban þonne him genihtsumað, þonne he furðon orsorgh ne bricð his genihtsumnysse; LS. 2. 60. 114 þu þe gelyfdest on me, þonne ðu me ne gesawe. *Donne* represents different antithetic Latin constructions: CP. 209. 16 ðonne hie wenen . . . ðæt we him ðonne secgen (*ea quae* bene egisse se credunt, male acta monstramus); 211. 17 ðonne we hira yfel tælað, ðæt we eac hira god herigen (dum . . . *alia* reprehendendo corripimus, *alia* . . . laudemus). Cf. also Byr. 313. 22, 27.

3. *mid ðy*.

There are no very clear cases of concessive use of this particle without an adversative. The following, however, probably have a tinge of concessive meaning: BH. 454. 13 þære ærfæstnesse þe he him forgifen

hæfde, mid þy he ællþeodig wæs (cum esset peregrinus); Guth. 145. 2 Midþy he . . . mid arfæstnysse his ealderum underþeoded wæs, hit gelamp sume siðe . . . þæt se awyrgeda gast him oneode.

4. *mittes*.

I have found only one passage where *mittes* seems to have concessive as well as temporal force. This passage, however, is of interest, since the clause in question is coördinated with a *ðeah*-clause: Chad 147. 252 7 *mittes* he wes heh biscop on orleahre 7 swilce þeah þe he fram untrumum 7 unwisum preostum were ge dered na ge seah hine mon efre forðon eorne.

5. *nu*.

Although Adams (p. 61) regards *nu* as a causal conjunction in use, it is clearly temporal in origin, and I have accordingly placed it here. Bo. 68. 11 forhwy þe haten dysige men mid leasre stemne wuldor, nu ðu nane neart? 80. 23 Wundorlice cræfte þu hit hæfst gesceapen þæt þ fyr ne forbærnð þ wæter 7 þa eorþan, nu hit gemenged is wið ægðer; Inst. 377. 8 hwi þeos feorþe boc sig uncapitulod nu þa ærran bec synt gecapitulode (cum priores libri . . . sint).

LOCAL CLAUSES.

The local clause, like the temporal, may become concessive in Modern English, sometimes (as in the passage following) losing all local meaning: Merchant of Venice, IV i. 22 where thou now exact'st the penalty . . . thou wilt . . . forgive a moiety of the principal. The same usage is found in Old English, though rarely.

A. *With Adversative in the Main Clause.*

CP. 399. 17 *ðær ðær hi ðone fiell fleoð ðære synne, ðonne magon hie ðeah weorðan gehælede* (*et lapsus scelerum fugiunt, et tamen . . . salvantur*). This is only formally a local clause; the meaning of the particle is like Modern English *at the same time that* in a concessive sense. This is one of numerous cases where the Old English, not having the Latin habit of balancing phrases, supplies a subordinate construction where the Latin has a coördinate one. Another occurrence of *ðær*: Apoth. 24 *Ðær ðær ðu neode irsian scyle, gemetiga ðæt ðeah*.

B. *Without Adversative.*

The sense of place is clearly retained in the following examples: Dial. 91. 11 *þær Paulus ne mihte mid scipe faran, þær Petrus eode mid drigum fotum* (*ibi Paulus ire . . . non potuit, ubi Petrus . . . iter fecit*); Epis. 147. 217 *for hwon hie þa hefignesse and micelnisse ðara wæpna in swa miclum þurste beran scoldon, þær nænig feond ne æteowde*.

The adversative sense predominates here: Bo. 60. 3 *þte þonan þe hi tiohhiað þ hi scylan eadigran weorðan, þ hi weorðað þonan earmran 7 eargran* (not in the Latin).

Finally, the local meaning may be entirely merged in the concessive: CP. 463. 1 ff. *ðætte ðær ðær he oðerra monna wunda lacnað* (*aliorum vulnera medendo*), *he self ne weorðe aðunden . . . ðæt he hine selfne ne forlæte ðær he oðerra freonda tilige* (*proximos iuvando*) & *him self ne afealle, ðær ðær he oðre tiolað to ræranne* (*ne alios erigens cadat*). The following less formal sentence is exactly like the colloquial construction in Modern English: Byr. 313. 20 *Swylce he cweðe þu sot, þær he sceolde cweðan þu sott*.

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES.

The conditional clause, to which the concessive clause is so closely related, is naturally often adapted, in various languages, to concessive use. The existence of this usage in Old English is briefly discussed by Mather (p. 21). In Modern English it is far more important, and partly for a curious reason—the modern emphatic use of the periphrastic verb. A character in Nicholas Nickleby remarks, ‘I don’t care if I *do* lose.’ This form of concession, in which the weight of the construction is borne by the verb and not by the particle, is very common in familiar speech, and is felt to be more forcible than ‘though I lose.’ The lack of this resource in Old English considerably restricts the importance of the *gif*-clause as a means of denoting concession. Nor is any phrase answering to our *even if* common. Moreover, many apparently concessive *gif*-clauses prove on examination to be probably not such.

After eliminating doubtful cases, we shall find that in Old English, as in Modern English, concessive conditional clauses fall under two heads: (a) those in which the particle means ‘although’ (with fact or supposition); and (b) those in which it means ‘granted,’ ‘though in fact.’ The distinction is logical rather than grammatical, except that the second type of clause may be converted into an independent sentence with less damage to the emphasis of a passage; is, in fact, less completely subordinated. On similar uses of *ðeah* see Chapter II. An analogous classification might perhaps be worked out for temporal and relative concessions; but it has seemed to me futile to superimpose any such logical scheme upon the already complex union of concessive with descriptive

and temporal notions. Only with *gif* and *ðeah* is the distinction seen in simplicity. Probably, therefore, only with *gif* and *ðeah* was it felt by the Old English writer. Even with *gif*—as will appear in the paragraphs to follow—it has no great importance. Our first task, meanwhile, is to sift the material.

A. Condition apparently translating a Latin Concession.

Deut. 14. 24 *Gif se weg swa lang beo þæt þu þine þing bringan ne mage, þonne syle þu hig* (Vulg.: *Cum autem longior fuerit via*). Here the old English construction, which can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as conditional, is at least as natural as the Vulgate, and may very likely rest upon a variant reading.

CP. 67. 25 *Se ðonne bið siwenige se ðe his &git bið to ðon beorhte scinende ðæt he mæge ongieten soðfæstnesse, gif hit ðonne aðristriað ða flæsclican weorc* (Lippus vero est, *cujus quidem ingenium . . . emicat, sed tamen hoc carnalia opera obscurant*). The Latin plainly implies a concession. But the Old English version has a different turn; the translator's effort is perhaps mainly toward definition. 'He whose mind is so illumined that he can discern truth, is blear-eyed *in the case when* (or *if nevertheless*) . . .

On L. 11. 8 see B; on Bo. 20. 21, see C below.

B. Condition followed by an Adversative.

Passages translated from the Latin are sometimes ambiguous, since Latin *si* may be either concessive or conditional. In Bo. 20. 13, *Gif þu nu forðæm cwist þ þu gesælig ne sie, þe . . . þonne neart ðu þeah ungesælig* (Quod si *idcirco . . . quoniam . . .*, non est quod te miserum putes), the *gif*-clause is a true condition:

'If it is *on this account*.' *þeah* is added by the translator to emphasize the point; he means, 'in spite of your complaint.'

There is a stronger concessive sense in the following passages, but the *gif*-clause must, in my judgment, be regarded as having a double use. It is seen first as a condition: 'take the case when.' As, however, it refers to an exceptional case, the writer views it also as a concession, and adds an adversative. All the following conditions translate Latin *si*, *without* any adversative following. BR. 53. 14 Gif he þænne eft for his unðeawum utfærð oþþe adræfed bið, he *þeah* sy onfangen oð þan þridan siðe (quod si); 54. 13 gif hwylc broðor unsceadelice hwæs bidde, he *þeah* . . . hine ne geunrotsige (si quis frater); 73. 16 Gif . . . swa micel þearf . . . beo . . . ne beon hy *þeah* . . .; Inst. 360. 1 Gif swyn etað merten flæsc . . . we gelyfað þ hi *swa þeah* ne synt to awurpanne. In these passages the presence of the adversative shows a desire to mark the implied conflict between protasis and apodosis more clearly than was done in the Latin text.

A similar double use of the clause, with an adversative appearing in the Latin: Inst. 368. 16 gif heo [the woman] þonne gewitnyse hæbbe, þ heo [the maid-servant] scyldig wære, fæste heo *þeah* III gear (si autem testimonium habeat . . . nihilominus . . . jejundet).

The same double use of a clause, in a passage not from the Latin: Laws 62. 19 Gif æt ðissa misdæda hwelcere se hund losige, ga ðeos bot *hwæðre* forð. Of the same nature is the interpolated sentence in PPs. 40. 1 se þe ongyt þæs þearfan . . . and him þonne gefultumað, gif hine to onhagað [pure condition]; gif hine ne onhagað [condition], þonne ne licað him *þeah* [adversative to condition] his earfoðu.

Cases where *gif* before an adversative is equivalent

to simple *þeah* are rare. In L. 11. 8, *gyf he ne arist and him sylð . . . þeah hwæpere* represents *etsi non dabit illi surgens . . . tamen* of the Vulgate. This is very likely based on *si* in some faulty manuscript, for confusion between *etsi* and *si* is very natural. The same explanation may be offered for Bo. 20. 21, discussed under C below. In L. 11. 8, however, the use of *gif* with the indicative may be due (since *ðeah* is usually followed by the optative), to a desire to render the future of the Latin.

C. *Condition without Adversative.*

It is among clauses without a following adversative that we must chiefly look for examples of *gif* introducing a simple concession. Accordingly, it is among the same clauses that we can observe the distinction, already discussed, between *gif* meaning 'even if it is (or be) true that,' and meaning 'granted.' Most examples of the former use are due to the influence of Latin *si*, concessively used. *Gif* in the passages following translates *si*: CP. 437. 10 *gif hi oferhycgen ðæt hi him ondræden hiora lytlan synna ðonne ðonne hi hi gesioð, ondræden hi him huru, ðonne hi hi hrimað*; John 21. 22, 23 *Gif ic wylle þæt he wunige ðus oð ic cume, hwæt to þe?* etc. In these cases, Modern English tends to use *if*; but the adversative sense is present. In Old English, when uninfluenced by Latin, the tendency is rather to use *ðeah*.

There is one curious instance of *and gif* apparently meaning 'although,' in a quotation from a Latin source. ÆH. 2. 322. 10 *Helpað ofsettum . . . and ðreagað me siððan. þis sæde Drihten, and gif eowere synna wæron wolcn-reade ær ðan, hi beoð scinende on snawes hwitnysse.* The Vulg. has: *et arguite me, dicit Dominus: si fuerint peccata vestra ut coccinum, quasi nix deal-*

babuntur. It is possible that *and* is here an intensive; cf. HL. 142. 96 *and þeah* þu mare næbbe. It is probably, however, simply continuative, connecting the two parts of the quotation. In either case, *gif* stands for concessive *si*.

Another concession introduced by *gif* is in Bo. 20. 21, *gif* hit on ænegum ænige hwile fæstlice wunað, se deaþ hit huru aferreð—'death, at any rate, removes it.' The Latin has: *etsi rara est fortuitis manendi fides . . . tamen . . .* This may be a deliberate use of *gif* in the sense of 'although'; or it may be a free translation, or a copying of a variant in the Latin manuscript—reading *si* for *etsi*. On this point, cf. B above.

It is evident that *gif* and *ðeah* do not interchange, in simple concessions, so freely as Modern English *if* and *although*. We find *gif* translating *etsi*, for which *si* would be a natural variant, but not, so far as I have observed, translating the unmistakable concessive conjunctions *quamvis*, *quamquam*, and *licet*, and only exceptionally translating *cum*.

The looser concessive use of *gif*, 'granted,' 'never mind though,' with no clear logical opposition between subordinate and principal clause, I have noted chiefly in the works of Ælfric: ÆH. 1. 56. 3 Ne wiðcweðe we þæt hit micel gedeorf ne sy; ac *gif* hit is hefigtyme on ðyssere worulde, hit becymð to micelre mede on ðære towearðan; 350. 2 *gif* sume beoð strengran on geearnungum . . . þæt heora nan ne beo geælfremod fram ðam micclan huse; LS. 1. 360. 350 *gif* we forleosað þas lænan woruld-ðingc, þonne sceole we witan þæt ure wunung nis na her; 2. 440. 232 *gif* ic ofer-swidan ne mihte hine ær cucene, ic hine witnige deadne.

One example, at least, occurs as a reproduction of the Latin idiom: CP. 337. 20 *Gif* we nauht ðæs ne dooð ðe us mon mid goode leanian ðyrfe, ne do we

eac nan woh ðe us mon fore tælan ðurfe (et [copula] si digna misericordiae retributione non agimus, nulla tamen perversa perpetramus). It is noticeable here that the adversative of the Latin is replaced by the weaker *eac*—‘neither do we commit . . .’

A similar construction is fairly common in modern usage. For example: Leigh Hunt, *Wishing-Cap Papers* (London, 1830), p. 240 Garth was often at Hampstead, if he never lived there.

D. Inadvertent Concessive Conditions.

A sentence may begin with a *conditional* protasis, pointing towards a conclusion of some kind, and continue in the same form with a *concessive* protasis, bringing forward something in the way of that conclusion. Bo. 112. 10 þær he hit a anginnan wolde, 7 þōn on þam gewinne þurhwunian ne mihte, þōn næfde he his nane scylde; ‘if he had ever made a beginning, he would not be blamed, even though he could not endure in the fight.’ Another instance is due to a similar construction in a Latin text: John 10. 38 Gif ic wyrce mines Fæder weorc, and gif ge me nellað gelyfan, gelyfað þam weorcum (Vulg.: Si autem facio, et si mihi non vultis credere, operibus credite). This construction is natural in unstudied speech, and is evidently related to the coördinate concessions to be considered in Chapter VII.

CORRELATED COMPARATIVE CLAUSES.

Old English has a well-developed correlative construction—analogueous to the Latin *quo plus . . . eo plus*—in which two comparatives are balanced by means of *swa . . . swa*. The generic sense of this idiom is quantitative; it implies that some one notion is true

in the same degree as some other. According to the exact relation between the two implied by the context, the construction may be termed modal, causal, or concessive. All these uses are clearly established in Old English, although the concessive use is the least common. And all are inherited by Modern English, but with *swa* replaced by adverbial *the*. Hazlitt says, for example,¹ 'the more he strives, is but the more enveloped "in the crust of formality".' In Old English, although *ðy* is much used with comparatives, it is only beginning to invade the correlative construction. I have found only one instance—and that very late—of *ðy* in place of *swa* in a concessive sentence of this form: Chron. 266. 18 *æfre þe mare he iaf heom, þe wærsa hi wæron him*.

An approach to the concessive use of the comparative may be seen in simple contrasts of quantity. We find the latter representing the antithetic Latin verbs of Orosius: O. 246. 8 *Antonius hæfde eahtatig scipa, on þæm wæron farende x legian, for þon swa micle swa he læs hæfde, swa micle hie wæron bet-eran 7 maran* (quantum numero cedens, tantum magnitudine praeexcellens). Here there is a balancing of facts, but hardly concession, for neither fact is definitely represented as in conflict with the other. When the first clause gives a reason or circumstance naturally leading to a certain result, and the second gives the opposite result which actually does follow, we have concession. *Swa ic swyþor drince, swa me swyþor þyrsteð* (Dial. 116. 21) is a more emphatic way of saying, 'Although I drink, I thirst.' But a temporal element also is usually present in concessions of this sort; the opposition of two facts is stated not

¹ English Comic Writers (London, 1900) p. 55 (Shakespeare and Ben Jonson).

simply as existing, but as continuous. Thus the example just quoted might be paraphrased, 'In spite of my drinking more and more, I thirst more and more.'

This form of concessive clause occurs in Boethius, rendering a Latin passage which is grammatically quite different: Bo. 19. 9 *Hwa mæg þæm wedendan gietsere genoh forgifan? Swa him mon mare selð, swa hine ma lyst* (*Largus cum potius muneribus fluens Sitis ardescit habendi*). In the following examples, *swa ... swa* translates the analogous Latin constructions: BH. 136. 14 *swa micle swa ic geornlicor ... þæt sylfe soð sohte, swa ic hit læs mette* (*quanto studiosius ... tanto minus*); CP. 347. 11 *sua micle sua he ma wat ... sua he ma dysegað, & suiður wienð wið ðone cræft ðære anmodnesse* (the Latin has but one comparative: *quasi quo plus sapiunt ... eo ... desipiscunt*); Dial. 116. 21 *swa ic swyþor drince, swa me swyþor þyrstedð* (*quo plus bibo, eo plus sitio*); Mk. 7. 36 *swa he him swiþor bebead, swa hi swiðor bodedon* (*Vulg.: quanto ... eis praecipiebat, tanto magis plus praedicabant*); Ex. 1. 12 *Swa hig swiðor wæron geswencte, swa wæron hig swiðor gemenigfilde* (*quanto ... tanto magis*). The thoroughly stable character of this idiom is shown by the appearance of the double comparative in cases where the Latin has the comparative adverb in only one member of the sentence: Bo. 19. 9; CP. 347. 11; Mk. 7. 36 (taking the *Vulg.* reading); Ex. 1. 12; Dial. 238. 6. This view is borne out by the appearance of the usual order when the Latin sentence is transposed: Dial. 238. 6 *swa myccle ma he ongæt þæt he wæs sylf gebunden, ... swa mycle healicor 7 fæstlicor he forseah þone gylp þyses gewitendlican middaneardes* (*tantoque sublimius gloriam ... despicere, quanto et religatus agnoverat nil fuisse quod potuerit auferri*).

Other instances: Mart. 142. 20 swa hine mon ma hirste, swa wæs he fægerra; ÆH. 1. 268. 27 swa he swiðor afandod bið, swa he rotra bið; LS. 1. 350. 201 swa man ma ofsloh swa þær ma gelyfdon (cf. 2. 426. 15); 2. 442. 253 swa ic his swiðor ehte ... swa ic hine swiðor wyrce wuldor-fulran symle; Adm. 56. 10 swa heo ma forswelgeð, swa heo ma gewilnað; Bl. H. 15. 19 swa hie him swyþor styrdon, swa he hludor cleopode; Chron. (Laud Ms.) 218. 18 swa man swyðor spæc embe rihte lage, swa mann dyde mare unlagas; 266. 18 æfre þe mare he iaf heom, þe wæse hi wæron him.

NOTE. The example just quoted is the only one I have found in Old English of this construction, in a concessive sense, strengthened by *æfre*. The same intensive is found in Middle English: Hal. Meid. 7. 32 eauer se þu mare haues se þe schal mare trukie. It is found with the comparative in a causal or modal sense, chiefly in 'Wulfstan': Wulf. 104. 7 æfre swa he eadmodlicor þæt deð, swa him god ... þe raðer gemiltsað; etc. *A* is in frequent use with various comparative constructions: Wulf. 189. 6 a swa leng swa wyrse; cf. Bo. 27. 27 a þy betera, and Sol. 36. 5 a ðe ma; etc.: but I have not observed *a* with the concessive comparative clause.

DEFINITE EXPRESSIONS OF DEGREE.

For comparisons involving the idea of definite quantity or degree, Old English uses the same correlative—*swa*—as for the indefinite clauses treated in the chapter on indefinite concessions. The two constructions are similar to a casual view, but different in principle. The indefinite clause has the form of an indefinite permission; the definite clause is an adaptation of the simple modal clause, and has an indicative verb. The difference between the two, in

their concessive use, may be illustrated by the differing constructions which, in Modern English, have replaced them. For the indefinite concession of this type, Modern English, for the most part, employs *however*: Ethics of the Dust, Lecture 4 *however few or many you may be, you may soon learn how to crystallize quickly into these two figures*. For the definite concession the language has retained the older *swa . . . swa* in the form of *as . . . as*, now almost always reduced to a single *as*. Cf. Bartholomew Fair II. i. I have gold left to give these a fairing yet, *as hard as the world goes*; Heart of Midlothian, ch. 6 *Wretched as he is, . . . he has a share in every promise of Scripture*.

The construction appears in Orosius, clean-cut and independent of the Latin: O. 152. 16 *swa ealde swa hie þa wæron hie gefuhton*. This condenses the original, the concessive turn being suggested by *foedissimi, annos septuaginta*, etc.: *Res foedissimi spectaculi erat, duos reges, quorum Lysimachus annos septuaginta et quatuor natus, Seleucus autem septuaginta et septem, arma gerere*. In O. 222. 14, *þa frægn Scipia hiene an hwy hit gelang wære þæt Numentie swa raðe ahnescaden, swa hearde swa hie longe wæron*, the construction is simpler and less rhetorical than the Latin: *qua ope res Numantina aut prius invicta durasset, aut post fuisset eversa*.

Further examples: CP. 467. 19 *hu fægerne & hu wlitigne monnan ic hæbbe atæfred, swa unwlitig writere swa swa ic eom*; Gen. 23. 15 (Gen. b) *þis wurð is betwux ung, ac, swa micel swa hit is, þu most swa-þeah bebirgan þinne deadan þær* (Vulg.: *sed quantum est hoc? sepeli . . .*); LS. 1. 216. 110 *þæt an þusend manna þe ne magon astyrian, swa unstrang swa ðu eart*; Nic. 484. 29 *swa fæla wundra swa se hælend worhte, 7 ge þ gesawon . . . for hwig noldon ge gelyfan?*

Somewhat peculiar is CP. 99. 21 *sua suiðe sua* he wæs upahæfen to ðæm ungesewenlicum, he ðeah gehwyrðe his heortan eage ... This represents a Latin relative and demonstrative: *quem* sublevatus ad invisibilia erigit, *hunc* miseratus ad secreta infirmantium *oculum* cordis flectit. One might expect *se ilca*, which is much used in this text. Moreover, the quantitative idea seems faint in this passage, and *sua suiðe sua* is probably about equivalent to 'although'; cf. modern *for all* in this sense: John 21. 11 (AV. and RV.) for all there were so many.

CONCLUSION.

The numerous examples which have been given prove that the concessive use of the six kinds of clauses considered, which is so familiar in our modern speech, was well established in Old English. With respect to the conditional clause, however, some qualification is necessary, since this form of concession is relatively unimportant in Old English. As for the source of these constructions, it is clear that to some extent they form a series independent of those considered in the preceding chapter. Indefinite concessions are found largely in the more distinctly native writings, and in some of the earliest. The secondary concessive clauses treated in this chapter occur largely in works translated from the Latin, even when the clauses themselves are not directly imitated. At the same time, the partly original character of works like Orosius and Boethius, and the very free method of translation applied to them, must be taken into account. Difference in subject-matter has also, no doubt, its influence.

The concessive use of the relative clause is very

often directly copied from Latin. Especially is this true of the clause containing an adversative. A few clauses are expanded, in translation, from appositive nouns or participles. Of the remaining relative clauses considered, many are found in the works of Ælfric, who was also a writer of Latin. Yet independent use of the concessive relative appears in a few passages of Boethius and the Soliloquies—either because the reading of Latin had made this use familiar, or because the construction was already natural. It is somewhat remarkable that in the Laws, where the relative clause is sometimes used in place of a condition, it is not used in place of a concession. For this reason, I incline to attribute mainly to Latin influence the large use of the concessive relative clause in Old English. At the same time, the combination *se ilca ðe*, so often used where the Latin has simply a relative or an appositive, forms a native idiom with antithetic and often concessive meaning.

Of the temporal and local clauses, a large number represent similar Latin constructions, with such particles as *ubi*, or with conjunctions understood as temporal, such as *cum*. A number translate vaguer Latin constructions, such as the appositive participle. Others still, which I have not traced to any source, may possibly be due to a Latin original. At the same time, the use of temporal and local concessions in independent passages of Orosius and Boethius indicates a native tendency to the use of this very natural form of speech. There is, moreover, greater significance in the rendering of a participle or appositive by a clause of time or place than in the rendering it by a relative. The latter is mere expansion; the former means the attempt to express a more definite relation. Thus, although Old English may have

been largely influenced by the Latin use of this form, it also employs it independently.

With the conditional clause the case is different. The spontaneous use of *gif* in a concessive sense is rare; where the word is truly concessive, it is usually influenced by Latin *si*. The tendency of Old English is rather to employ *ðeah* in a conditional sense.

The correlative constructions with *swa* are, of course, thoroughly native in their general form. As for their concessive use, we may say at once that what I have called the 'definite' clause of quantity or degree (*swa* with a positive adjective or adverb) is entirely independent of Latin influence. In almost every case it is found either in an original passage, or representing a Latin construction of a different type. The correlation of two comparatives is very similar to a Latin idiom. We find it persisting, however, as a concessive construction, when the Latin expression varies. A parallel from Otfrid is significant as showing, in a cognate language, the same means of reproducing the Latin idiom: Ev. IV. 36. 21 f. So sie sin mer tho wialtun, thaz grab ouh baz bihialtun: so wir io mer giwisse in themo irstantnisse. As the source of this passage Erdmann cites (Ev., p. 215): quanto amplius reservatur, tanto magis resurrectionis virtus ostenditur. We may, then, regard this also as a native concessive construction, though its frequent use in translations may have helped to perpetuate it.

To sum up, the most clearly independent of the constructions treated in this chapter are the correlative clauses with *swa*. The most clearly derived from Latin is the conditional concession. The other forms of clause seem to have arisen, in some degree, independently, but to have had their chief development in translation.

Another point of interest concerning these clauses is the use made of particles and pronouns to emphasize antithesis. With relative, temporal, and conditional concessions we find, on the whole, more use of adverbatives in Old English than in corresponding Latin passages. We sometimes find demonstrative pronouns with relative concessions. The necessity for these grammatical guideposts was somewhat greater in Old English, because of its greater diffuseness; Old English frequently used expanded clauses where the Latin had balanced phrases. Less formal signs of antithesis are also found with these clauses, sometimes following Latin usage, sometimes independently—contrasted adverbs of time, emphatic adjectives like *cægen*.

To apply the categories of 'fact' and 'supposition' to these secondary concessive clauses is sometimes difficult, as in them the concessive relation is usually combined with some other. The same clause, in some cases, may be looked at in either way. In the main, however, the use of these clauses—leaving out of account for the moment the conditional clause—is for 'real' concessions. This, of course, is very natural, since all these forms of clause—except the conditional—are chiefly used for reference to facts. The conditional clause, which is by its nature hypothetical, includes a larger number of suppositions than all the others.

To attempt the tracing of any general influence of the concessive idea upon the modes of such clauses as are considered in this chapter would be futile. Each form of clause follows rather its own usages, modified not according to secondary relations, but according to the practice of individual authors.

The great majority of the clauses mentioned in this

chapter—apart from conditional concessions—have the indicative. They are thus in contrast with the *ðeah*-clause, which, even in a 'fact' concession, usually retains the optative. Nor do the occasional occurrences of the optative among secondary concessions coincide exactly with the hypothetical concessions among them. In Apoth. 24, *Ðær ðær ðu neode irsian scyle*, the optative may, it is true, be regarded as emphasizing the general hypothesis involved. But we find one statement firmly grasped as a fact appearing in the optative mode, and that in direct discourse: Sol. 68. 20 *ðe ma þe Abraham wolde þam welegan arian þe he hys ægnes kinnes were*. There may even be vacillation in mode within the same sentence: CP. 463. 4 *ðæt he hine selfne ne forlæte ðær he oðerra freonda tilige*, & him self ne afealle, *ðær ðær he oðre tiolað to ræranne*. Even with *gif* there is no perfectly uniform practice in hypothetical concessions; cf. BR. 53. 14 *Gif he . . . utfærð oþþe adræfed bið*, and 54. 13 *gif hwylc broðor unsceadelice hwæs bidde*. The mode of the clauses surveyed in this chapter is thus independent of their concessive use.

CHAPTER VII.
COÖRDINATION AND JUXTAPOSITION
OF CLAUSES.

An account of the concessive constructions of Old English prose would be incomplete without some discussion of the coördinated sentences which may approach more or less closely the meaning of the *ðeah*-clause. Were there only periods following the model of the Latin *quidem . . . tamen* structure to be considered, they would form a chapter of some importance. In fact, however, we have not only such finished periods as these, but a variety of constructions arising spontaneously, some of them—rhetorically, if not chronologically—very primitive. Many of these are definitely connected by the copula and by some approach to parallel structure, so that they may properly be called coördinate. In other cases, sentences are placed side by side with so little external sign of any relation between them that I have preferred to speak of their arrangement as one of juxtaposition rather than of coördination.

THE CONCESSIVE SENTENCE PLACED SECOND.

One phenomenon of great interest, though of rare occurrence, is the use of *and* to introduce a virtual concession. This is distinctly a coördinate construction, and not to be confounded with the later use of *and* or *an* as a true subordinating conjunction.¹

¹ For example, Jonson, *Every Man in His Humor*, II. ii. I 'd not wear it as it is, an you would give me an angel.

Indeed, side by side with the latter, the coördinate construction still exists in careless or illiterate speech. It would be more exact to say that it still arises. For, whether in Old English or Modern English, this form of sentence is less a definite feature of the language than the outcome of a particular kind of thinking. In such cases the relation of the two sentences is *felt* rather than *defined*. The speaker is in haste to seize upon facts, and does not pause to indicate their exact bearing. Of the same nature is the juxtaposition of two sentences, the second amounting to a concession, without even a copula between them. In Modern English, such sentences, whether with or without *and*, are usually enforced by *too*. 'I cannot keep these plants alive—and I have watered them well, too'; or—probably with a longer pause—'I cannot keep these plants alive—I have watered them well, too.' With a different emotional tinge we have deprecatory adverbs: 'Well, I can't keep these plants alive—I 've worked hard *enough* over them.' In all these cases, modulations of the voice supply the place of connectives. And similar modulations may have been present to the ear of the Old English writer.

A typical example, such as we might hear in careless speech today, is found in the Parker MS. of the Chronicle, in the entry for A. D. 905: Chron. 94. 6 *þa æt sæton ða Centiscan þær be æften ofer his bebod, 7 seofon ærend racan he him hæfde to asend.* More difficult to account for is the similar construction in an interrogative sentence: Bl. H. 143. 9 *To hwan ondrædeþ þeos halige Maria hire deaþ, & mid hire syndan Godes apostolas & oþre þa þe hie beraþ to hire æriste?* This is similar to questions in Boethius, in which the concession is introduced by *nu* (see

p. 78 above). In the Soliloquies we actually find the construction corresponding (though in a free translation, to a Latin *cum*-clause: Sol. 48. 23 þu woldest gemetigan mynne wop and mynne unrotnesse, *and ic ne ongyte nan gemet mynra yrmða and ungelympa* (modum vis habere lacrymas meas, cum miseriae meae modum non videam?) Essentially the same structure, due in this case to awkwardness in handling pronouns, appears in a clause added to the original in the translation of Orosius: O. 206. 35 þa þa Lapidus Mutius wæs consul, wolde seo strengeste þeod winnan on Romane, þe mon þa het Basterne, 7 nu hie mon hæf Hungerre. This might have been reduced to a parallel relative clause: 7 þe mon nu hæf . . . A *ðeah*-clause, however, would have given the more usual construction.

A series of *and*-clauses in the following passage from Orosius is due to inability to copy the balance of the Latin: O. 92. 35 ff. þæt wæron þa tida þe Romane nu æfter sicað, 7 cweþað þæt him Gotan wyrsan tida gedon hæbben þonne hie ær hæfdon, 7 næron I on hie hergende buton þrie dagas; 7 Gallie wæron ær siex monað binnan þære byrig hergende, 7 him þæt þagiet to lytel yfel þuhte buton hie eac hie þæs naman bename þæt hie nan folc næren; ‘*although* the Goths harassed them but for three days, *whereas* the Gauls . . .’ The Latin is ironical: *Revera pares sunt . . . hae duae captivitates, illa sex mensibus desaeviens, et tribus diebus ista transcurrrens.*

Equally characteristic of the style of an untrained writer in any period are the loose-built sentences which follow, in which an *and*-clause, amounting to a concession dependent on what precedes it, is followed by an adversative, contrasting it also with what follows

it: Bo. 99. 4 Ðyllica leasunga hi worhton, 7 meah-ton
eaðe seggan soðspell, gif him þa leasunga næren
swetran, 7 þeah swiðe gelic ðisum; 'Such falsehoods
they devised, though they might easily have recounted
truth . . . and truth, after all, very like their own
stories.' A similar, but even more artless structure
appears in this sentence: Nic. 471. 16 7 swyðe manege
oðre eodon to Pilate, 7 þone hælend wregdon, 7 sædon
for manegum yfelum dædum, 7 he ne wearð næfre
nane wyrcende; 7 hig þeh þus cwædon . . .

Other sentences, which may be viewed as equiv-
alent to concessions, may contain an adversative
following *and*, or an adversative alone. It is some-
times difficult to decide whether such sentences were
felt by the writer as virtually dependent or as new
and independent statements. Some of them may
better be described as *in contact with* than as coör-
dinated with or subordinated to other sentences. An
example from the earlier part of the Chronicle (Parker
MS.): Chron. 48. 29 7 þone æþeling ofslogon, 7 þa
men þe him mid wærun alle butan anum, se wæs
þæs aldor monnes god sunu, 7 he his feorh generede
7 þeah he wæs oft gewundad. There is absolutely no
grammatical subordination here, but it is possible
that the last clause was felt as simply a qualification
to the clause preceding it. Similar sentences, with
clearer approach to subordination, appear sporadically
in other and later writings. Examples: Bl. H. 23. 28
þa nolde he him geceosan welige ylðran, ac þa þe
hæfdon lytle worldspeda, ne hie næfdan for him lamb
to sylenne . . . & hwæpere hie wæron of Dauides cynnes
strynde, þæs riht-cynecynnes; ÆH. 1. 384. 24 Godes
gelaðung wurðað þisne dæg ðam mæran apostole
Paule to wurðmynte . . . wæs ðeah-hwæðere his martyrdom
samod mid ðam eadigan Petre gefremmed. In the latter

case, Thorpe translates 'though.' A closer parallel to the Old English would be our phrase 'to be sure,' which has sometimes the effect of subordinating the sentence in which it occurs. Another example without copula: Epis. 149. 271 *þa cwomon we to þam mere ðe us mon ær foresæde; þa wæs he eall mid wudu beweaxen mile brædo, wæs hwæpre weg to ðæm wætre.* In all these cases, the relation of the two connected sentences is actually less clearly defined than in the case of the concessive sentence introduced by *and*.

In Ælfric's Lives of the Saints occur several parenthetical clauses resembling the adversative sentences treated in the preceding paragraph: LS. 1. 458. 266 *Sum wer wæs betogen þæt he wære on stale—wæs swa ðeah unscyldig*—and *hine man sona gelæhte*; 502. 233 and *he malchus se getreowa fleah of ðære byrig sona mid ege and mid oðan—hæfde mid him þeah eapelicne fodean*—and *com to his geferan and heom eall cydde . . .*; 516. 491 *ða geseah he hwær þa weorc-stanas lagon ofer eall þær onbutan and he healfunga þæs wundrode—þeah na swiðe embe þæt ne smeade*—ac he forht of þære dune mid micclan ege nyðereode.

Here should be mentioned also a type of phrase ending with *swa ðeah*, which is characteristic of the same work. These phrases are loosely tacked-on to a preceding statement; and, though they bear some resemblance to the appositives and adverbs to be treated in the following chapter, are equivalent to elliptical sentences: LS. 1. 166. 319 *swa þæt ða munecas . . . eodon to uhtsange, ær timan swa þeah*; 276. 199 *Ic wylle eac sweltan, na scyldig swa þeah*; 2. 440. 232 'Datianus,' *þa cwæp se deofollica cwellær, ofsceamod swa þeah*, 'gif ic . . .'; 1. 84. 565; 444. 63; 470. 474.

NOTE 1. The use of MHG. *unde* introducing concessive clauses furnishes an analogy to the coördinate sentences

discussed in this section. Since OE. *and*, while remaining a coördinate conjunction, takes on in these sentences the logical function of a subordinating particle, it is interesting to compare a note of Tobler's¹ upon the use of *und* and *unde*: 'Die concessive Bedeutung des *und* = obgleich, da doch, ist im untergeordneten Satz dasselbe was die einfach adversative 'und doch' im beigeordneten. Da die letztere schon ziemlich alt ist und z. B. auch dem altsächsischen *endi* zukommt . . . , so dürfen wir uns nicht wundern, auch ihr Correlat schon auf althochdeutschem Boden zu finden.'

NOTE 2. Although, as I have said, the coördinate sentence with *and* is to be distinguished from the use of *and* as a subordinating conjunction meaning 'although' or 'if,' it is possible that the latter use may have arisen from the former. I may note that Wülfing² is inclined to understand *and* as *conditional* in Wulf. 229. 24; 231. 13. But in each case the sentence introduced by *and* seems to me an independent prophecy.

THE CONCESSIVE SENTENCE PRECEDING.

Another type of concessive structure is that in which a sentence, not formally subordinated, bears a concessive relation to another following it. Such constructions vary from the crudest and most childlike collocation of clauses to the most effective balanced periods. In Old English, the two related sentences may be connected by *and*, *ac*, or an adversative adverb, or—rarely—may simply stand side by side without formal connective. The use of the same structural types for expressing various other ideas than that of concession makes definition somewhat difficult. In the necessary absence of formal signs of relation,

¹ Über den Relativen Gebrauch des Deutschen *und* (Germania 13. 91—104), p. 101.

² Wülfing, Kommt *and* in der Bedeutung von *if* schon im Altenglischen vor? (Anglia, Beiblatt 12. 89).

one must resort to a logical criterion. The sentence in question must in every case be read in the light of the context. If *in the light of the context* the first of two sentences appears to be introduced only for the sake of the second, especially if it be a mere repetition of something already stated, and now referred to for its bearing on the second sentence, it may fairly be regarded as subordinate in thought. Or, as often happens, if the former sentence, having at first an independent value, is overshadowed by the importance of the second, the former sentence may still approach the subordinate relation.

Into passages largely connected by means of *and*, the coördinate concessive structure naturally enters, as in the following example of entirely formless collocation: Bl. H. 57. 19 Manige men beoð heardre heortan þe þa godcundan lare gehyraþ & him mon þa oft bodað & sægþ & hi hi þonne agimeleasiað; 'though they are often preached to and instructed.' Bl. H. 93. 16 & þonne hit biþ æt sunnan setlgange, & þeah hweþre nænig leoht ne æteoweþ; here *þeah hweþre*, a more definite adversative than *þonne*, marks the relation of the sentences. Epis. 146. 168 þa wæs haten Seferus, min þegn, funde þa wæter in anum holan stane and þa mid ane helme hlod hit and me to brohte, and *he sylfa þursti wæs*, se min þegn, and hwæþre he swiðor mines feores and gesynto wilmade þonne his selves; here again we have the adversative after *and*.

An example of how a sentence may seem at first to have independent value, and may be turned into a tributary to what follows, is seen in this passage: Æ. Th. 447. 39 Manega sinoðas wæron syððan gehæfde, ac þas feower syndon fyrmeste swa-þeah. Another instance of subordination to the context occurs in this passage from the Peterborough Chronicle, where the

main current of the reader's attention passes directly from *wunder* to *ac*: Chron. 263. 35 þa the suikes under gæton ð he milde man was 7 softe 7 god, 7 na iustise ne dide, þa diden hi alle wunder. Hi hadden him manred maked 7 athes suoren, ac hi nan treuthe ne heolden; 'They had, it is true, done him homage . . . but . . .' Cf. Chron. 68. 21; 69. 16.

An adversative is occasionally used in the first sentence of a concessive group, relating it to the second somewhat in the manner of the Latin *quidem*, but far more vaguely. For example: LS. 1. 498. 184 and ic ðonne wið eow stiðlicor aginne, ðonne ic tale wið eow habban wylle. Ne ðincþ hit me *þeah* nan ræd, ac ic eow læte unbeheafdod . . .; 'unreasonable as it seems to me, I leave you . . .'

From the more or less crude sentences thus far treated, Old English prose illustrates all gradations to clean-cut and effective antithesis, in which two sentences, at the same time that their relation is indicated, remain independent for the sake of emphasis.

One group of passages to be considered comprises those in which a Latin subordinate construction is rendered by a coördinate one. I cite a few characteristic examples. A participle may be expanded into a sentence, preceding the logically more important statement: Mk. 8. 18 *Eagen ge habbað*, and ne geseoð? (Vulg.: *Oculos habentes non videtis?*); CP. 301. 10 Se ure fiond ðonne *he wæs gesceapan* ongemang eallum oðrum gesceaftum, ac he wilnode ðæt he wære ongieten upahæfen ofer ealle oðre gesceafta (Hostis . . . inter omnia *conditus*, voluit videri supra omnia elatus). Or an ablative absolute may be rendered by a sentence: BH. 358. 1 mid þy se ylca cyning . . . here lædde to forhergianne Peohta mægðe—7 *him swiðe þæt his freond beweredon* . . . þa gelædde he hwæðre here in Peohtas

(cum ... exercitum ad uastandam Pictorum prouinciam duxisset, *multum prohibentibus amicis*). A concessive clause may also be replaced by a grammatically independent sentence: BH. 172. 21 Æghwæðer heora wæs elpeodig þær, 7 hwæðre for heora lifes geearnunge gepungon, þæt heo buu wæron abbudissan (quæ utraque *cum esset peregrina* ... est abbatissa constituta).

On the other hand, a coördinate group in a translated text may simply follow the original. The use of *quidem* to give concessive force to a sentence, usually with a following adversative, is of course exceedingly common in Latin, and it is sometimes copied in translation. The word used to render *quidem* is usually *witodlice*. Examples are chiefly found in the translations of the Gospels. M. 9. 37 Witodlice micel rip ys, *and* feawa wyrhtyna (Vulg.: *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci*). Analogous adverbs, in the same sense, are in use in Modern English, as appears in the same text in the Authorized Version: The harvest *truly* is plenteous. Other instances: M. 20. 23 Witodlice gyt minne calic drincaþ; to sittanne on mine swiþran healfe ... nys me inc to syllanne (*Calicem quidem meum bibetis: sedere autem ... non est meum dare vobis*); Mk. 14. 38 witodlice se gast is gearu, *ac* þæt flæsc is untrum (*Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro vero infirma*); L. 22. 22 And witodlice mannes Sunu gæð ... *peah* hwæðere wa þam men þe he þurh geseald bið (Et *quidem* Filius hominis ... vadit: *verumtamen* vae homini illi per quem tradetur). These examples vary, as do similar passages in Latin, from the combination of two sentences without conjunction (M. 20. 23) to the use of a strong adversative (L. 22. 22). Other passages where the same construction is copied from Latin: M. 26. 24; L. 23. 41; Gen. 27. 22; Coll. 99. 36.

The value of this device for linking sentences was by no means always appreciated by the translator, and there are numerous examples of its omission. Of these a few may be cited here: L. 10. 2 Her is mycel rip, and feawa wýrhtan (Messis *quidem* multa, operarii *autem* pauci); cf. BH. 88. 29 þætte her wære micel rip onweard, 7 fea worhton (multam *quidem* sibi esse messem, *sed* operarios paucos). Other instances: BH. 116. 28; 128. 3; 136. 2; 358. 21: Gen. 48. 19.

The same construction, however, appears in a few passages where Latin influence seems to be indirect rather than direct: ÆH. 1. 154. 6 He worhte þa wundra *sodlice* þurh godcunde mihte, and mid þam wundrum þæs folces geleafan getrymde; *ac hwæðre* þær wæs oðer ðing digle on ðam wundrum, æfter gastlicum andgite; 2. 132. 1 þu miht blissigan *gewisslice* þæt ðære ðeode sawla þurh ða yttran wundra beoð getogene to ðære incundan gife; ondræd ðe *swa-ðeah*...; Wulf. 34. 18 his dyrstignes *witodlice* dereð him sylfum, *ac* þæt ne dereð elles þam *na þe swyðor*, þe þa ðenunga underfoð.

A sentence may also be related to the one succeeding it by a sort of concessive formula, indicating that the statement of the first sentence is to be corrected by the second. The two then form a group analogous to the *quidem...tamen* period. Such groups in Modern English are introduced by 'I admit,' 'certainly,' 'no doubt,' and usually connected by 'but'. The usage in Old English is illustrated by the passages which follow: John 8. 37 *Ic wat* þæt ge synt Abrahames bearn; *ac* ge seceað me to ofsleanne (Scio quia...estis; *sed*...); 11. 42 *Ic wat* þæt þu me symle gehyrst; *ac* ic cwæð for þam folce... (Ego *autem* sciebam quia...audis; *sed*...); Jos. 2. 4 *Ic andette* þæt... *ac* ic ne cuðe (*Fateor...sed* nesciebam);

O. 214. 1 *Ic wat*, cwæð Orosius, hwæt se Romana gelp swiþost is. . . . Ac þær hie hit georne ongitan cuþen, þonne wisten hie . . . ; Sol. 36. 12 *Ic gehyre nu* þæt þu . . . ; *ac* ic wolde witan; De Temp. 13. 10 Soð ðæt is þ seo sunne þa stod . . . ; *ac* se dæg eode forð.

Other concessive groups consist of distinct sentences apparently connected only by an emphatic *and*. This structure is very different from the placing of sentences side by side, without regard to logical relations, joining them by *and* as mere copula. In fact, the structure considered here is usually transferred directly from the Latin. The former clause is generally sententious, and has something of the same double value ascribed, in Chapter VI, to certain conditional clauses (see p. 82 above). It is seen first as an emphatic independent sentence, and then as having a concessive relation to what follows. The second clause may be a question. Examples are found mainly in the Biblical translations. These passages, indeed, have their chief interest as illustrating the early entrance into the language, from Biblical sources, of a norm of style which has persisted to our own day. In PPs. 49. 22 we find a considerably expanded version: Eall þis yfel þu dydest, and ic swugode and þolode swylce ic hit nyste (Vulg.: Haec fecisti, et tacui). A statement followed by a question: L. 8. 45 þas menegeo þe ðringað and geswencað, and þu segst, Hwa æthran me? (Vulg.: turbae te comprimunt et affligunt, et dicis: Quis me tetigit?) The concessive group in a Biblical quotation: Bl. H. 69. 24 þis folc me weorþað mid wordum, & is þeah heora heorte feor fram me (Vulg.: Mk. 7. 6 Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me). Other examples: M. 6. 26: L. 4. 25-27; 7. 32; John 2. 20; 3. 10; 8. 52: Num. 11. 21: Deut. 34. 4.

Finally, we have examples of coördinate structure, neither so definitely antithetic as the type last considered, nor so explicitly connected as the periods containing *witodlice*. These groups are used in rapid or colloquial style, often to give separate emphasis to the separate members included, very much as similar sentences are used to-day. It is the desire to make the first clause impressive that breaks up the following period into the coördinate form; LS. 1. 344. 117 He is ofer ealle þincg ælmihtig scyppend, and he wolde swaðeah wite ðrowian for us.¹ Similar in principle are the following passages: ÆH. 1. 10. 3; 48. 33; 122. 21; 592. 4; De Vet. 266. 12 ff.: Æ. Th. 444. 10; Bl. H. 225. 30.

THE CONCESSION COÖRDINATED WITH A SUBORDINATE CLAUSE.

In treating conditional concessions I pointed out the fact that a clause with concessive meaning might be coördinated with a pure condition. There are many sentences in which the concessive clause seems 'attracted' into the form of some other which it accompanies or in which it is merged. The result is often a gain in rapidity of style, for sub-subordinate clauses readily lead to clumsiness. Such clauses are found in Latin, and in translations from Latin into Old English. For example, John 20. 29 þa synt eadige þe *ne gesawon* and gelyfdon (Vulg.: *beati qui non viderunt, et crediderunt*); cf. Quot. 178. 6 ac þa beoð gesælige þe hit *ne gesawon* and hwæþere gelyfað. It is to be noticed that here the concessive clause does not simply follow the pattern of a clause preceding

¹ Cf. the relative clauses expressing a similar idea (p. 71 above).

it, as did the 'inadvertent concessive conditions' discussed in Chapter VI. In the passage just quoted the concession is embodied in the relative clause as the first of its coördinate members, the second forming what may be termed the apodosis. This is true in general of such concessions.

That the interpretation of these clauses as concessive is not simply academic or arbitrary is shown by their appearance in place of subordinated Latin constructions: as in John 9. 25 *An þing ic wat, þæt ic wæs blind* and *þæt ic nu geseo* (Vulg.: *unum scio, quia caecus cum essem modo video*); 10. 33 and for *þam þe þu eart man*, and *wyrst þe to Gode* (Vulg.: *et quia tu homo cum sis, facis teipsum Deum*); BH. 82. 24 *se ðe in fyre geseted bið* 7 *beornan ne conn* (*qui in igne positus nescit ardere*).

Concessive clauses of this kind may appear within various subordinate constructions. I cite the most typical examples, italicizing, in each case, the concessive member of the group. Within a substantive clause: O. 162. 16 *þa offpuhte heora ceorlum þæt mon þa þeowas freode*, 7 *hi nolde*; LS. 1. 526. 631 *him þa for an þuhte þæt he þæs gewiss wære*, *þæt he þæs on æfen ælcne man gecneowe*, and *ælc gecneowe hine*, and *he þæs on morgen nænne ne gecneowe ne nan hine*. Within a causal clause: HL. 184. 84 *þæt ic mæge myd ealre heortan on hyne gelyfan*, forþon *ic hyne næfre ne geseah* and *he me swa þeah halne gedyde* (here the adversative enforces the concessive meaning). Within an adjective clause, and evidently for the sake of separate emphasis on the 'protasis': Wulf. 219. 19 and *þam biþ wa æfre geborenum*, *þe hit secgan can* and *ne wile*; 231. 25 *swa hwylc mæssepreost swa hæbbe þis gewrit* and *nelle cyðan godes folce*.

A curious example of attraction from one construc-

tion into another is found in the following rather confused sentence: Chad, 'Anhang,' l. 37 And se man þe god deþ mid godum inge hyde þ he oþrum men fremige on feo oððe on læne 7 *seo læn be cume to sumon lape þam men*, he bið swa þeah orsorh ... 7 he hæfð his mede his modes goodnesse. This clause, like those I have termed 'inadvertent concessive conditions,' follows the structure of the clause preceding it, but is equivalent to a *ðeah*-clause dependent on the following principal clause. I mention it here rather than among the 'relative concessions' of Chapter VI because it illustrates so well the influence of one construction upon another.

An example of the baldest juxtaposition within a clause is found in a late portion of the Peterborough Chronicle: Chron. 264. 29 þa ræueden hi 7 brendon alle the tunes ð *wel þu myhtes faren all a dæis fare* sculdest thu neure finden man in tune sittende ne land tiled.

In conclusion, the points which seem to me especially noteworthy in connection with the material studied in this chapter are these: the lack of absolute delimitation between subordinate and coördinate structure, and the different degrees to which coördinate constructions may approach grammatical subordination; the double function which a clause or sentence may sometimes have; the influence of Latin in the development of balanced structure (the use of *witodlice*, of 'concessive formulae' and of the emphatic *and*); and the fact that naïve and formless structure, far from being peculiar to the earliest stages of Old English prose, appears occasionally in all periods, notably in the late portions of the Chronicle.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCESSIVE USE OF PHRASES AND SINGLE WORDS.

However largely Old English may, in some respects, have been influenced by Latin syntax, and in spite of the existence of pregnant adverbs such as *unþances*, the substitution of participles or other condensed expressions for full clauses never became the dominant characteristic of the language. This is especially true of concessive constructions; notwithstanding the large adoption of the absolute and of the appositive participle, condensed concessions are somewhat rare. Considerable interest, however, attaches to some of the phrase-constructions which may be found, because of their persistence in the modern speech.

PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES.

In Modern English the concessive use of prepositional phrases has become a conspicuous feature of the language. We have a number of definitely concessive prepositions; and the use of *all* or some similar emphatic word often lends a concessive meaning to *with* and *for*. In Old English such constructions also appear, but in less variety, and in less frequent use. The concessive phrases found in Old English prose may be grouped under two heads: those in which the preposition itself has or approaches concessive meaning; and those which, without any

particular concessive coloring in the preposition, stand in a concessive relation to the context.

A. *Without Concessive Meaning in the Preposition.*

Those phrases which receive a secondary tinge of concessive meaning may be compared to temporal and modal clauses with concessive force. In the following sentence the concessive relation is not very distinctly marked: Bo. 67. 4 Hwæt, ealle men witan þæt se Seneca wæs Nerone 7 Papinianus Antonie þa weorðestan 7 þa leofostan . . . þeah *buton ælcra scylde* wurdon fordone. It would be possible to translate literally: 'and yet, without any fault, they were destroyed.' But there is clearly something more implied, and Sedgefield rightly translates: 'though void of offense.' In the following passage, the phrase corresponds to a temporal-concessive clause: BH. 20. 30 Ðæt se ylca wer . . . an easpring of drigre eorðan gebiddende up gelædde 7 ænne æcer of ðam gewinne his agenre handa *ofer þa tid ðæs sæwetes onfeng* (*ultra tempus serendi . . .*). The phrase is more purely concessive in the next example: Mart. 20. 11, 12 ond seo gesihð him wæs on swa micelre gemynde þæt he *on þæm miclan wintres cele*, þonne he ymb þæt þohte oððe spræc, þonne aswætte he eall, ond eft *on þære miclan sumeres hæte*, þonne he his siðfæt gemunde, þonne ablacode he eall ond abifode. Very similar is another *on*-phrase: LS. 1. 276. 203 þa wundrode se dema þæs wifes anrædnysse, þæt heo nolde andettan *on swa earfopum witum*; 'that she would not confess even under such torture.' An instrumental *on* takes a concessive shading in one passage: Guth. 146. 20 þa wæs he æt nextan . . . to halgum mynstre gelæd, to þon þæt hine mæssepreostas and bisceopas wið þa

wodnysse þwean and clænsian sceoldon. And hi hwæþere on *menigum þingum* ne mihton þa yfelan mægn þæs arwyrðdan gastes ofadrifan; 'though they tried many expedients.'¹ The Latin original had a very different clause, containing neither instrument nor concession: Cum vero nullus eorum pestiferum funesti spiritus virus exstinguere valuisset.

In the following Biblical quotation, a definite concessive construction in the Latin is ignored: Quot. 167. 6 Gif hi nellað gelyfan Moysen and þam witegum, ne gecyrrað hi to dædbote *þurh nanes geedcucodes mannes mynegunge* (L. 16. 31; Vulg.: neque si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit credent). The turn of the sentence is altogether different from the Latin; *þurh* is used in a pregnant sense—'even through'; and the negative *nanes* adds weight to the phrase.

In this whole group of constructions, the syntactical value of adjectives and adverbs is to be noticed. The relation of the phrase to the sentence, the marking of the contrast which constitutes the concessive relation, is enforced by intensives of one kind and another: *ælcre*, *swa*, *menigum*, *nanes*, perhaps also *miclan*. The relation, in fact, is bound up with the substance of the phrase, as is well illustrated by the use of the word *menigum*.

B. With Concessive Meaning in the Preposition.

Although Old English prepositions may sometimes convey the concessive idea, there are no such distinctively concessive prepositions as modern *notwithstanding* and *in spite of*. Even those which may be called

¹ Goodwin translates: 'with many expedients.' (The AS. Prose Version of the Life of St. Guthlac, ed. Goodwin, London, 1848, p. 59.)

concessive are simply prepositions of more general meaning adapted to the purpose. We find them also, like those already discussed, depending upon the aid of emphatic adverbs and adjectives. This is notably true of *for*, which from Old English times to the present has usually required *all* or *any* to give it the meaning 'in spite of.'

1. *for*.

The various meanings of this preposition illustrate the close relation of the concessive to the causal idea. Einkenkel's analysis of the concessive *for* (Streifzüge, p. 141), though too abstract to represent any conscious mental process in speaker or writer, states the case as it appears upon reflection. He derives the concessive use of *for* from the causal, '... indem der Substantivbegriff, selbst in seiner Verallgemeinerung als Causa, die in der Aussage gegebene Tatsache nicht umändern kann, also diese Tatsache *trotz* dieser Causa sich vollzieht oder bestehen bleibt.' In Old English we find a number of instances in which the meaning wavers between the causal and the concessive, but not many instances of clearly defined concessive use. Belden, in his treatment of Old English *for* (Prepositions, pp. 61 ff.) does not name its concessive sense, though he points out that, as causal particle, it is frequently found with verbs of fearing, dreading, etc., and in negative sentences. He cites *ÆH.* 1.108.22 And ðeah þa heard-heortan Iudei noldon *for* eallum ðam tacnum þone soðan Scyppend tocnawan; which Thorpe translates: '... would not for all those signs acknowledge ...' This seems to me a true concessive phrase; it was *in spite of* the signs shown them that the Jews remained stubborn. But, so far as its syntax is concerned, the phrase differs from an ordinary causal

one only in being placed in a negative sentence and in containing the emphatic adjective *all*. The case is clearer when the sentence is positive. The following passage is the one usually cited¹ to illustrate concessive *for* in Old English: Chron. 136. 17 *hi lagon ute þa ealne þone herfest on fyrdinge ongean þone here, ac hit naht ne beheold þe ma þe hit oftor ær dyde. Ac for eallum þissum se here ferde swa he sylf wolde. Here the concessive sentence simply amplifies the fact already stated: ac hit naht ne beheold . . . In one case we have what the German grammarians term 'ineffective cause' expressed by the predicate, *naht ne beheold*; in the other it is subordinated and expressed in the preposition *for*.*

Since the idea of 'ineffective cause' is involved also in negative sentences with causal *for*, it is evidently difficult to mark boundaries. But the distinction, so far as it is a useful one at all, may be stated thus: the negative causal sentence simply denies that a given effect has followed a given cause; the concessive sentence lays stress on the potency of a given cause to produce a certain effect, which has nevertheless not followed it. This stress gives a different meaning to the particle. *For* is causal in this passage: Bo. 69. 4 *nan mon ne bið mid rihte for oðres gode ne for his cræftū no þy mærra ne no þy geheredra*. In the following sentences, *for* may well be interpreted as concessive, but there is nothing to mark its meaning very definitely: LæcB. 108. 9 *Gif hit nelle for þisum læcedome batian, wyl on meolcum þa readan gearwan*; S.Mar. 10. 71 *Ne for þæs hælendes infare næs se cæstel hire mægedhades ne hire eadmodnyssen gewæmmed*. Even when the *for*-phrase is balanced by such compar-

¹ See, for example, this excellent outline: Hupe, *Die Präposition for* (Anglia 12. 388-395).

atives as frequently follow concessions, the meaning is not always categorical. I cite one of the doubtful sentences: BH. 50.6 Ac hwæðere þa ðe lifigende wæron *for* ðam ege þæs deaðes *noht þon sel* woldan, ne fram heora sawle deaðe acigde beon ne mihton (sed ne morte quidem suorum, nec timore mortis . . . a morte animae . . . reuocari poterant).

But when *for* is accompanied by *eall*, the contrast between the 'cause' referred to and its 'ineffectiveness' becomes explicit, and the meaning of the preposition shifts to 'in spite of.' Examples of this idiom, already cited, are ÆH. 1. 108. 22 and Chron. 136. 17. In another passage, the phrase actually resumes a *ðeah*-clause: Wulf. 147. 7 and *þeah hit wære eall mid mannum afylled* and ðæra æghwylc hæfde ænne hamor on handa, and *þeah man bleowe mid eallum þam byligeon* and mid þam hameron beote on þæt isene þell . . . ne awacode he næfre *for eallum þisum*. The notion of 'ineffective cause' is further emphasized by *næfre*.

I have found only one instance of concessive *for* in a positive sentence, without the reinforcement of *eall*: Dial. 219. 15 nallæs þæt an þæt his lichama wæs gesund *for þy fyre*, ac eac swylce ne mihton hi forbærnan nanra þinga his hrægles. Wærferth's style, however, is in many ways peculiar, and can hardly be cited as representative of Old English idiom. The Latin here has an ablative of agent: ut non solum ejus caro *ab ignibus*, sed neque extrema . . . vestimenta cremarentur.

The history of the concessive use of *for* is probably to be traced thus: Causal *for* was used in a negative sentence, in mere denial of the positive statement; but in such sentences the emphasis readily shifted to the contrast between condition and effect, especially when a strengthening word like *all* was added; and

so such phrases, with the strengthening word, came to be used also in positive sentences with concessive force. A similar progress may be traced for the adverb *forðy*, which is etymologically a *for*-phrase. It may be used, as has been pointed out in Chapter II, as a correlative to the *ðeah*-clause in a negative sentence, in the sense of 'on this account.' In a sentence like the following it might be understood as concessive: *ÆH.* 1. 248. 25 *þeah* he us *þærrihte* ne *getiðige*, ne *sceole* we *forði* *þære* bene *geswican*; 'we should not on that account cease from prayer,' or 'in spite of that, we should not cease from prayer.' In this sentence *forði* has true concessive meaning: *LS.* 1. 332. 167 He *wæs ærest* *gecoren eallra þara* *god-spellera*, *ac* he is *forði* *se feorða*, *forþan* *þe* he *sette þa* *feorðan boc*; 'but in spite of that' ('for all that,' 'nevertheless').

NOTE 1. The use of *nat forthy*, in ME., in the sense of *nevertheless*, would seem to have originated in an ellipsis. Cf. Chaucer, *Melibeus*, § 4 but *nat for-thy* he gan to crye and *wepen ever lenger lenger the more* (*i. e.* *nat the leesfor-thy*).

NOTE 2. *All* is still the usual sign of the concessive use of *for*. Sometimes, it is true, *for* is combined with an indefinite, *aught* or *any* (cf. Baldwin, p. 112, on the concessive *for*-phrases in *Morte d'Arthur*; and Chaucer, *Phisiciens Tale*, l. 129 This mayde shal be myn, for any man). The familiar idiom, however, is the use of *all*; and the same intensive often gives concessive force to *with*. Cf. Heywood, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* III.ii. *For all your cunning*, 't will be to your shame; and Lamb, *Christ's Hospital* (Works, London and New York, 1903, 4. 73) *with all his faults*, indeed, Mr. Perry was a most extraordinary creature. How naturally such an idiom arises may be seen from the Biblical phrase, which resembles a concession: *Vulg. Matt. 6. 29 nec Salomon in omni gloria sua*.

NOTE 3. The use of *for all* as a concessive conjunction was a natural sequence. On this, see Koch, p. 474.

2. *betweox*.

In a few cases *betweox* seems to lose most of its ordinary meaning, and to have a concessive coloring: Bo. 39. 25 Ond þeah *betwuh þyllecum unrihtū* wæs him no þy læs underþeod eall þes middangeard; here the adversative comparative is noteworthy. In the following late passage, *betwyx oðrum þingum* has a complex meaning, 'and yet, along with other things': Chron. 220. 12 He hæfde eorlas on his bendum . . . 7 æt nextan he ne sparode his agenne broðor . . . Betwyx oðrum þingum nis na to for gytane þ gode frið þe he macode on þisan lande.

3. *butan*.

I have already cited a passage in which *butan* receives concessive coloring from the context. Only one perfectly clear case of a phrase in which *butan* itself has a definite concessive meaning has come under my observation: Chron. 144. 10 þurcyl bead þ ilce to þam here þe læg on Grena wic, 7 *buton þam* hi hergodan swa oft swa hi woldon.

APPOSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS.

A. *Appositive Nouns and Adjectives*.

The use of appositive nouns and adjectives is not common in Old English. Of the few that are to be found, a very small number replace concessive clauses. The following passages, however, must be noticed in a survey of concessive constructions. In BH. 182. 22 the appositive, in direct imitation of the Latin, is accompanied by an intensive: forðon þe he of oþerre mægþe wæs, 7 ofer heo rice onfeng, ealdum feoungum hine *eac swylce deadne* ehton (*ueteranis eum odiis etiam mortuum insequabantur*). In the following sen-

tence the Latin intensive has been passed over, and the adjective added by the translator: CP. 37. 8 ðær he ymb his getreowne ðegn *unsynnigne* sierede (*etiam devotum* militem extinxit). In each case, however, the concessive relation is more or less clearly implied. There is concessive force also in the appositive noun of the following: ÆH. 1. 588. 28 Ic wundrige ðe, *snoterne wer*, þæt ðu ðyssere lare fylían wylt; 'I wonder that thou, astute man as thou art, wilt follow this teaching.'

There are a few passages in which appositive adjectives, with *oððe* or *ge . . . ge* (which ordinarily means *both . . . and*) approach the meaning of a disjunctive concession: BR. 13. 2 for þon *ge þeow ge freoh*, ealle we synd an Criste an (*quia sive servus sive liber*, omnes in Christo unum sumus; Laws 250. 4 7 þæt man heonan forð læte manna gehwylcne, *ge earmne ge eadigne*, folcrihtes wyrðe (Latin version: *statua . . . nulli abstrahantur persone, nobili neque ignobili*); 308. 13 læte manna gehwylcne *ge earmne ge eadigne*, folcrihtes weorðne (Latin version: *reputetur omnis homo publica dignus rectitudine, pauper, dives, quicumque sit*); LS. 1. 504. 277 eall þæt he ær agylte *læsse oppe mare*, we lætað hit of gemynde swilce hit næfre ne gewurde. With no connective but *ne*: Cod. Dip. 4. 242. 30 ik hate and beode ðat no man ne worðe swa doerste . . . ðat ðis ilk wharf . . . breke, *haded ne leawed* (*nullus omnino nec clericus nec laicus*). In none of these cases is the concessive relation clearly marked. But the Latin constructions which the appositives translate or by which they are translated, especially *sive* and *quicumque sit*, show that these Old English constructions were sometimes felt as at least having a hypothetical turn. Nor is the content of these phrases very different from certain disjunctive concessions with

swæðer or with the *beo . . . beo* construction. Cf. with the legal passages just cited the following: Lev. 24. 22 Gilde eage wið eagan and toð wid teð, *si he landes man, si he utlendisc*; Laws 164. 9 onfo se his þe he hit ær ætbohte, *beo he swa freoh swa ðeow*, swa hweðer he sy. And the following sentence actually illustrates interchange of the concessive with the appositive construction: Gram. 19. 12 f. hic coruus, ðes hremn, *swa hwæðer swa hit byð, swa he swa heo*; hic miluus, ðes glida, *ægðer ge he ge heo*.

B. Appositive Participles.

The use of the appositive participle to express various subordinate relations, which is so important a feature of Latin syntax, naturally appears in many of the works translated from Latin into Old English. The concessive use of the participle, however, is not frequent. Callaway, in his admirable monograph, *The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon* (p. 282), states that he has found in the prose twenty-five cases of the appositive participle concessively used. I have been unable to trace so many, having ruled out examples which seemed to me doubtful. In Old English, as in Latin, the construction is often ambiguous. The following early instance, *not taken from Latin*, may, as Callaway points out (*loc. cit.*) be modal: O. 250. 14 Æfter þæm Germanie gesohton Agustus *ungeniedde* him to friþe. Other early examples, in which the concessive element is stronger, are these: BH. 278. 18 Gif he æne siða onfongen, *haten* ham hweorfan, ne wille (*Quod si semel susceptus noluerit inuitatus redire*); CP. 153. 1 Ac monige scylda openlice *witene* beoð to forberanne (*Nonnulla autem vel aperte cognita mature toleranda sunt*).

In the works of Ælfric, in whom Latin influences were so strong, we find surprisingly little trace of this idiom. I have noted only two clear examples: *ÆH.* 1. 550. 8 Daid, seðe, on his cynesetle *ahafen*, hine sylfne geswutelode þearfan on gaste; 1. 596. 35 he ne geswicð soð to bodigenne, nu twegen dagas cucu *hangigende*. Of these participles, the latter is more purely concessive; the former is concessive-temporal, and resembles the concessive use of the temporal clause.

Several clearly concessive participles occur in the Gospels. Two passages will illustrate the form of sentence in which they appear: *M.* 13. 13 *lociende* hig ne geseoþ and *gehyrende* hig ne gehyraþ (Vulg.: *videntes* non vident, et *audientes* non audiunt); *L.* 5. 5 ealle niht *swincende* we naht ne gefengon (per totam noctem laborantes nihil cepimus). Other instances: *Mk.* 4. 12 (two); 9. 47: *L.* 8. 10 (two). *Gehihtende* (*L.* 6. 35), which Callaway (*loc. cit.*) regards as concessive, and *hiwgende* (*L.* 20. 47) are perhaps rather modal, or modal with a tinge of concession. *þendende* (*L.* 12. 25), which might possibly be viewed as concessive, I should consider instrumental.

THE ABSOLUTE PHRASE.

Callaway has already pointed out (The Absolute Participle, p. 21) that the absolute participle is rarely used concessively in Old English. The Latin ablative absolute (*ibid.*, p. 36) is normally rendered by a subordinate finite verb; and it is only under the influence of the Latin ablative absolute that a concessive construction of this form could arise, since no absolute participle occurs in Old English without a direct or indirect prototype in Latin (*ibid.*, p. 51). Indeed, the

concessive relation cannot be definitely indicated by so vague a construction as the absolute phrase. The appositive noun or participle, which, being balanced against some other word, more readily expresses antithesis, can suggest concession more clearly. And in fact the examples of the concessive absolute phrase to be found in Old English can usually be reduced to the category of 'attendant circumstance,' which in some contexts has an added concessive force.

Of the seldom-used instrumental absolute construction, I have observed no examples with concessive meaning. Such examples of the dative absolute as seem to me to bear the concessive interpretation are here cited. The following involved sentence contains an absolute participial phrase of temporal-concessive force: BH. 472. 21 *Swa swa Brittas ... ono þa gelyfendum eft Angelfolcum 7 þurh eall well ontimbredum 7 gelæredum on reogole rihtes geleafan, hi nu gyt heora ealdan gewunon healdað* (Sicut ... Brettones ... *credentibus iam populis Anglorum, et in regula fidei ... instructis, ipsi adhuc inueterati ...*); 'though now the English believe and are thoroughly grounded and instructed in the rule of faith.' In John 20. 26 we find: *Se Hælend com, belocenun duron*. Similar phrases occur in Ælfric. For example: ÆH. 1. 222. 12 *Se ðe com deaðlic to ðisum middangearde, acenned þurh beclysedne innoð þæs mædenes, se ylca, butan tweon, ðaða he aras undeaðlic, mihte belocenre ðrih faran of middangearde*; 'even though the tomb were closed.' It is noteworthy here that the absolute construction balances a prepositional phrase, *þurh beclysedne innoð*, which is not concessive; and in modern speech we should be likely to replace the absolute participle by a prepositional phrase with concessive implication—'from a sealed tomb.' In the following

sentence, I should regard both participial phrases as absolute, and as shown by the context to be concessive: *ÆH.* 1. 230. 12 *þæt Cristes lichama com inn, beclysedum durum*, *seðe wearð acenned of ðam mædene Marian beclysedum innoðe*. Other examples: *ÆH.* 1. 230. 15, 24; 458. 27; perhaps also 1. 440. 30 for *wærscipe gehealdenum geleafan*.

ADVERBS WITH THE VALUE OF CLAUSES.

Aside from *forðy*, already discussed, there is very little if any use in Old English of *adverbs* in place of concessive clauses. The nearest approach to such a substitution that I have found is in the balanced adverbs of the following sentence: *Wulf.* 271. 6 and *þæt ure hlaforð læte asmeagean be æghwylcum ende Engla landes ealle þa manfullan, þe nellað geswican*, and *þances oððe unþances* hig to rihte gebigean oððe mid ealle of earde adrifan. This of course suggests the construction which has descended to us in the form *willy-nilly*: *ÆH.* 1. 532. 7 *we sceolon, wylle we, nelle we*, arisan. The phrase of *Wulfstan* may be interpreted 'Whether they will or no,' and is probably equivalent to a concession of that form.

In another passage two contrasted adverbs appear, not forming a concessive construction, but explaining the meaning of an indefinite concession; *ÆH.* 1. 588. 29 *þæt ðu ðyssere lare fyliað wylt, swa hu swa hit gewurde, sylfwilles oððe neadunge*, *þæt he on rode gefæstnod wære*. In the following sentence, the adverb and adverbial phrase, which at first sight bear some resemblance to a disjunctive concession, simply specify different methods: *Chron.* 217. 10 *he ... begeat swiðe mycelne sceatt of his mannan þær he mihte ænige teale to habban oððe mid rihte oððe elles*.

In sentences like the following, the adverb *ðæs* retains its causal meaning: *ÆH.* 1. 156. 19 *Ac hwæt dyde se blinda, þaþa þæt folc hine wolde gestyllan? He hrymde ðæs ðe swiðor.* The relation is not perfectly defined; but the implication is that the call for help grew more importunate *because of*, not *in spite of* rebuke.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL SURVEY.

This study may fitly be closed by a rapid general treatment of the material analyzed in separate chapters, with a view to setting forth the broad characteristics of Old English prose, so far as they may be discerned from that material.

I

The first topic to be considered is the relation of concessive expressions to the main aspects of sentence-structure. A review such as we have made leaves a strong impression of the explicit character of Old English syntax. There is far less compression of clauses, far less merging of a subordinate idea in the structure of the main sentence, in Old English than in Modern English. A concessive clause here and there, however, omits the verb. Examples: *ÆH.* 1. 94. 6 *Ac gehwylce halgan andbidodon on Abrahames wununge buton tintregum, þeah on helle-wite, oðþæt se Alysend com*; perhaps also *LS.* 2. 440. 252 *ne mæg ic hine oferswiðan forðon swa deadne?* In the inverted clause, suppression of the verb was plainly an impossibility, so long as word-order remained an essential feature of the construction. There are no concessions in Old English corresponding to the familiar absolute phrase, 'day or night.' On the other hand, the usual form of the *swa ... swa ... swaæðer* construction is with but one verb instead of the possible two. In one passage there is no verb: *Lchd.* 3. 186. 4 *swefen, swa wæder swa god swa yfel, gefremminge hit hæfð.*

The concessive relation, as such, does not determine mode. In the case of certain constructions, such as indefinite concessions, modes vary; in the case of others, such as the *ðeah*-clause and the inverted clause, the mode is practically fixed; with others still, such as concessive relative and temporal clauses, mode is determined by other considerations, without reference to the concessive meaning given them.

With respect to word-order, the study of concessive constructions can add little of importance to the conclusions of Smith.¹ Two facts, however, are noticeable. In cases of a double predicate in *ðeah*-clauses, there is a fairly strong tendency to turn from the transposed to the direct order, as in the following passage: LS. 1. 34. 161 *þeah ðe þu wifes bruce and blysse on life*. There is also a tendency to place substantive *ðæt*-clauses dependent upon a *ðeah*-clause after the rest of the clause, even when, apart from the *ðæt*-clause, the concession has the transposed order.

As to the placing of clauses within the sentence, Old English was very flexible. Subordinate concessive clauses of all kinds may stand either before or after the main clause, or, less often, within it.

The use of tenses in Old English is, in general, dependent upon actual relations of time, and not upon purely grammatical considerations.² As a rule, then, the tense of the subordinate concessive clause agrees with that of the principal clause, for they usually have to do with the same time. When there is departure from this rule, it is usually because of an actual difference in the time of the two facts mentioned, as

¹ The Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose.

² Cf. Adams, p. 159.

in this example: Bo. 76. 9 he bið anfeald untodæled, þeah he ær on mænig tonemned wære.

Another fact of interest is the great number of correlative constructions of one kind and another possessed by Old English, and employed in concessions: *ðeah* with its correlative adverbs, *sam . . . sam*, the disjunctive inverted clause, and the various correlative constructions with *swa*—disjunctive clauses, definite and indefinite clauses of degree, and the progressive construction.

II

Passing from the form of the sentence in general to the separate constructions which have been studied, I will recapitulate briefly some of the more salient results.

1. The affinity between causal and concessive constructions is close in Old English, as is shown by the use of *for* in both senses, and by the use of causal adverbs in intimate combination with concessive clauses.

2. The concessive relation is often marked, not only by the connectives used, but also by contrasting adverbs of time, demonstrative pronouns, emphatic adjectives, or other antithetical expressions.

3. An adversative to a concessive clause or a clause concessively used almost never precedes it.

4. The *ðeah*-clause, while retaining its concessive force, may be substantive.

5. Several uses of *ðeah* are highly idiomatic, especially the *nan wundor ðeah* and the *nat ðeah* constructions.

6. *Sam . . . sam*, though surviving into Middle English, disappears almost entirely from the literature after the time of Alfred.

7. The disjunctive question formed with *hwæder* . . . *ðe* or *hwæðer* . . . *hwæðer* is not used concessively in Old English prose.

8. The antiquity of some locutions which are still or have recently been in use is a matter of interest. Shakespeare's 'No marvel *though*' has its exact prototype in Old English. Other modern usages which can be traced to Old English are the concessive use of *for*, the employment of *all* as a strengthening particle with *for* or *though*, the phrase *never so*, the comparative phrase *nevertheless*, the use of definite *as* with an adjective or adverb, and the progressive construction with *the* . . . *the*.

9. Though there is considerable Latin influence upon the concessive expression of Old English, as in the relative clause containing an adversative, the use of the concessive period with *witodlice*, and the occasional use of absolute and appositive participles, the independence of the native idiom is marked. This independence is exemplified in the persistent use of the optative with *ðeah*, no matter what the Latin construction rendered, in the use of the indefinite *swa* . . . *swa* with adjectives quite independently of the corresponding Latin idiom, and in the frequent substitution of full clauses for absolute and appositive constructions.

Our study has led to one or two conclusions which, in view of the general tendencies of language, would not have been foreseen: the small use of conditional constructions in Old English to express concession; and the use of the inverted concessive clause only in the disjunctive form, with a beginning of the simple form growing out of the use of *odðe*. It is noteworthy also that the prose texts offer very little material for the tracing of hypotactic from paratactic forms. Unskilfully as the earlier prose-writers sometimes

handled language, they possessed already the essential hypotactic constructions of Old English, such as the *ðeah*-clause and the constructions with *swa*. And it is in the Blickling Homilies and the Peterborough Chronicle, both later texts, that we find some of the most striking examples of crude structure.

III

Finally, the constructions which have been analyzed illustrate in several respects the intellectual processes involved in speech. We have seen grammatical 'contamination,' which is a matter of association of ideas, exemplified in the coördination, whether in parallel clauses or within a subordinate clause, of ideas bearing a different logical relation to the sentence as a whole. We have seen it also in the mingling of related constructions expressing the same idea, such as the *swæðer*-clause and the inverted disjunctive clause. The fluidity of language, again, its unconscious adaptation to the needs of the speaker, is illustrated by the diverse forms assumed by the *swæðer*-construction, and by the gradations from hortatory to concessive meaning in the case of the indefinite clause. A kindred phenomenon is the use of a clause in a double sense, as temporal-concessive. The growth of sentences in which one idea enters because suggested by another is illustrated by conditional clauses to which concessive meaning is given by the later part of the sentence. Further, among coördinate sentences can be found many examples of the adding of thought to thought with only the vaguest indication of relationship between them.

APPENDIX I.

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APPENDIX II.

INDEX-LISTS OF CLAUSES.

I have attempted to make indexes only for those forms of clause which seemed to me to repay such study. The *ðeah*-clause, the most frequently used concessive construction, is accordingly not represented by a list of references. After examining all the *ðeah*-clauses of the prose-texts read, I find great uniformity in their use, and no problems which could be illuminated by the compilation of statistics. The *ðeah*-clause is found in all periods of the prose, and in writings of all kinds.

A. Index-list of *swa*-clauses.

- O. (3) indic. 296. 25: indeter. 206. 3; 260. 18.
- CP. (1) indeter. 301. 25.
- Dial. (1) indic. 61. 6.
- M. (1) indic. 23. 28.
- Bl. H. (1) indic. 97. 22 (?).
- Byr. (1) indic. 312. 42 (?).
- LS. (1) no verb, 2. 440. 252 (?).

B. Index-list of *sam* . . . *sam* clauses.

- O. (1) opt. 21. 17.
- Bo. (7) opt. 94. 15 137. 3, 7, 11; 138. 11: indeter. 60. 6; 108. 17.
- Sol. (3) opt. 25. 4; 58. 13: indeter. 24. 1.
- BR. (1) opt. 66. 14 = WV. 89. 4.
- Herb. (1) opt. 166. 9.

C. Index-list of *swa* . . . *swa* . . . *swæðer* (*swa hwæðer swa*) clauses.

- Cart. (1) opt. 1. 156. 15.
- Laws (6?) opt. 112. 38; 164. 9; 183. 12 (?); 184. 16; 204. 8; 258. 20.

- Bo. (2) opt. 110. 27: indeter. 101. 7.
 CP. (3) opt. 85. 14; 451. 14: indic. 97. 1.
 BR. (2) opt. 66. 9; Wells-Frag. 110. 7; cf. Cc. below.
 Gram. (2) opt. 260. 13: indic. 19. 12.
 Coll. (1) opt. 100. 23.
 Lchd. (2) indic. 3. 162. 23: no verb, 3. 186. 4.

Ca. *swa hwæðer swa . . . beo . . . beo*.

Gram. (1) indic. + opt. 267. 16.

Cb. *swa hwæðer swa . . . þe . . .*

Gram. (1) opt. 243. 14.

Cc. *swæþer . . . þe . . . swa*.

BR. (1) opt. 111. 7; cf. Wells-Frag. 110. 7.

Cd. *swa . . . swa* (without *swæðer*).

BH. (1) indeter. 412. 1.

Ce. *swa hwæðer swa . . . oððe*.

Wulf. (1) indic. 201. 10.

D. Index-list of Inverted Correlative Concessions.

- Dip. Ang. (1) opt. 609. 12.
 Cod. Dip. (4) opt. 4. 10. 8; 24. 16; 51. 18; 232. 9—10.
 Laws (13) opt. 198. 5; 265. 10; 274. 13; 292. 16;
 296. 7; 322. 20; 326. 17; 356. 16; 364. 18, 28; 376. 11;
 388. 14; 390. 1.
 Inst. (4) opt. 345. 48; 369. 13; 371. 29; 407. 5.
 Chron, MS. E. (1) indeter. 245. 11.
 Gram. (1) opt. 136. 13.
 LS. (2) indeter. 1. 344. 121; 2. 320. 82.
 ÆH. (5) opt. 1. 252. 14; 2. 10. 7; 68. 9;
 566. 33: indeter. 1. 532. 7.
 Deut. (1) opt. 1. 16.
 Ex. (1) opt. 19. 13.
 Levit. (1) opt. 24. 22.
 Wulf. (1) opt. 208. 15.

Da. Inverted Concessive Clauses with *opþe* etc.

Cod. Dip. (1) opt. 4. 198. 13.

Laws (1) opt. 366. 21.

Chron, MS. E. (3) opt. 31. 28; 36. 22; 259. 8.

Db. Inverted Correlative Concessive Clauses Combined with
Indefinite.

Laws (2) opt. 264. 4; 282. 13.

ÆH. (1) indeter. 1. 318. 28.

Wulf. (1) opt. 271. 1.



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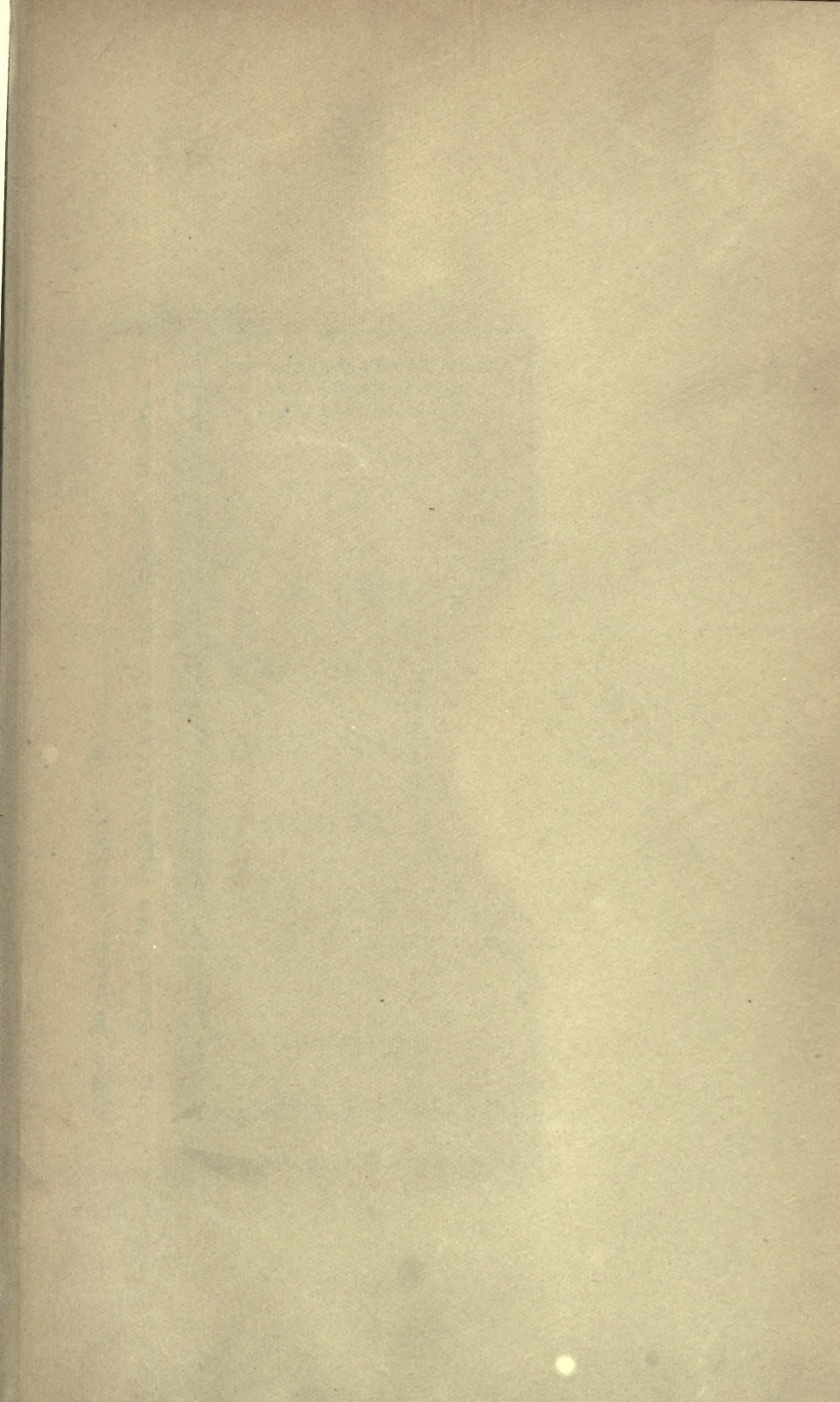
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